

# CHILDREN IN THE NOVELS OF BENITO PÉREZ GALDÓS

by

Edna N. Cobb

A.B., Northwestern, Oklahoma, 1928

A.M., University of Oklahoma, 1930

Vol. I

Submitted to the Department of  
Romance Languages and Literature  
and the Faculty of the Graduate  
School of the University of Kan-  
sas in partial fulfillment of the  
requirements for the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy.

Advisory Committee:

W. H. Sloan  
Chairman

Joe M. Osma

R. J. Mahan

July, 1952

RD0056 63455

Diss  
1952  
C66  
v.1  
c.2

### Acknowledgement

For academic guidance and counsel the author is deeply indebted to Professor William H. Shoemaker, under whose guidance this work was brought to conclusion. Grateful acknowledgement is also made to Professors José María de Ossa and R.G. Mahieu for their suggestions and assistance.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

### Introduction

#### THE GALDÓS INTEREST IN CHILDREN

Galdós' Personal Interest in Children; Age Limits; Galdós' Sociological-Psychological-Individualistic Viewpoint; Fluctuations of Interest in Child; Number of Children; Novels Studied; Order of Chapters..... 5

### Chapter I

#### DEVELOPMENT OF INTEREST IN THE CHILD AS A LITERARY FIGURE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Early regard for child in Greek, Latin, Biblical, English, French and Spanish Literatures; Social Changes Leading to Romantic Growth of Interest in the Individual; Development of Literary Personality of Child in Nineteenth Century England, France and Spain ..... 23

### Chapter II

#### THE JUVENILE DELINQUENT

State of Child Psychology Studies at Time of La Desheredada; Galdós defined as Clinical Psychologist; Problem of Child Delinquency in Madrid; Galdós' Use of "delincuente"; Steps in Galdós' Case Study of Mariano: Heredity and Background, Home and Neighborhood, Education, Companions, Behavior; Other Contemporary Writers Who Treated Problem; Other Galdós Characters Who Interested Themselves in Child Delinquency ..... 68

### Chapter III

#### THE CHILD AND EDUCATION

Background for Galdós' Study of Primary Education in Spain; Unsatisfactory Conditions in Primary Schools; Inadequate Education of Girls; Private Instruction, Felipe Centeno and Luis Cadalso as Chief Child Characters Used for Galdós' Educational Ideas ..... 115

### Chapter IV

#### GIRLS

Unnamed Girls in Novels; Individual Treatment of Named Girls for Establishment of Individuality and Purpose in Novel; "Media-Lengua" ..... 178

## Chapter V

### BOYS

<u>Unnamed Boys in Novels; Individual Treatment of</u> <u>Named Boys for Establishment of Individuality and</u> <u>Purpose in Novel</u> .....	258
---	-----

## Chapter VI

### BIRTH AND DEATH OF CHILDREN

<u>Birth; Child Mortality Rate; Unnamed Dead Chil-</u> <u>dren; Causes of Death; Deaths of Named Children;</u> <u>Funeral Customs</u> .....	351
<u>Conclusion</u> .....	396
<u>Appendices</u> .....	415
<u>Bibliography</u> .....	420



## INTRODUCTION

### THE GALDÓS INTEREST IN CHILDREN

The elemental figure of the child appeared early in most literatures, but his true advent as a literary personage did not occur until after the French Revolution focused attention on the great masses of poor and ignorant people. It was Dickens who first set the place of children in literature, and with him poverty and children went hand in hand. Since Galdós read with ease several foreign languages, the vast literature, particularly in France and England, concerning the child was known to him. Dickens' sincere interest in children, a striking feature of his work, may have struck a responsive chord in the heart of Benito Pérez Galdós, for there is no doubt that children had always excited Galdós' affectionate interest. In his prologue to Dr. Tolosa Latour's Niñerías Galdós wrote, "El primer fundamento de mi simpatía hacia las narraciones que componen esta obra, consiste en que son como un terreno neutral en que se juntan nuestros gustos y aficiones... Y debo añadir que si las estimo por su parentesco con la hermosa hija de Esculapio, no me entusiasman menos por la atención preferente que en ellas dedicas a la parte más interesante de la humanidad, los chiquillos, que a mí tanto me gustan, como sabes, y con los cuales hago muy

buenas migas, dejándome tratar por ellos de igual a igual, con una especie de santa nivelación ante la inocencia."<sup>1</sup>

In La casa de Shakespeare Galdós misses "las turbas de chiquillos haraposos, tiznados y descalzos que pululan en los docks de Liverpool o en el Quayside de Newcastle."<sup>2</sup>

In his own home, Olmet and García Carraffa say that Galdós "siempre ha tenido amiguitos con los que conversaba a diario largos ratos. Ahora tiene uno, que se llama Alfonso, de trece años de edad, hijo de la portera de la casa de la calle de Alberto Aguilera, donde vivió el gran novelista. Todos los días acude este pequeñuelo al hotel de D. Benito, para charlar un rato con el maestro. Con mucha frecuencia le pregunta Galdós su opinión sobre diversas cosas, y escucha los razonamientos de Alfonsito con cariñosa atención."<sup>3</sup> Having at heart this tenderness for children, it is not strange that Galdós made a literary theme of the child and that this warm interest appears concretely in his novels.

Unlike Dickens, Galdós had no family of small children growing up about him, but as M. Braunschvig, French literary critic with a primary interest in children, pointed out, love for childhood may be felt deeply by those who have no such personal ties as those of fatherhood in a family.<sup>4</sup> Lacking concentration, the affection grows to embrace all children. Because we are susceptible to the poetry of

childhood, it is pleasing to see that the great Spaniard, "in many regards the most typical, and by all odds the most prolific of modern Spanish authors"<sup>5</sup> also cared about it. The interest and pleasure taken in childhood are signs of emotional development and indicate moods of serenity and pensiveness. Galdós was reflecting his age and "when an age listens with pleasure to such sketches, it is not barren of the homely affections, nor uniformly given over to restless and unlawful passions."<sup>6</sup>

That Galdós enjoyed the study is always evident to the reader and he himself comments, "Cuando se acerca el fin de la jornada, causa cierto gozo el considerar de qué extraña manera nos prepara la Providencia, allá en los comienzos de nuestra vida, el camino que hemos de recorrer y hasta los tropiezos o facilidades, penas y alegrías que en él hemos de encontrar. El tránsito de la niñez a la juventud parece el esbozo de un drama, cuyo plan apenas se entrevé en el balbuciente lenguaje de los primeros afectos y en la indecisión turbulenta de las primeras acciones varoniles."<sup>7</sup>

Galdós did not leave details concerning his own childhood. Like Lamartine,<sup>8</sup> he passed by this early period of his own life with indifference. He seems to be, as May-nial says, one of those "qui ont imaginé l'histoire d'un enfant: parfois ce petit personnage, dont ils ont la pré-

caution ou la pudeur de ne parler qu'à la troisième personne, peut bien leur ressembler comme un jeune frère tendrement aimé... Il y a dans cette catégorie de livres, non plus l'intention de se confesser, mais celle d'étudier la psychologie de l'enfant."<sup>9</sup>

Galdós is unique in Spain in the tendency to close observation of the individual child and the depiction of his moods and activities. His interest began with birth when the child is scarcely more than a small monomaniac in whom everything is reduced to the one action of feeding and who sleeps when his stomach is filled. These primary functions and early education are noted in Gloria,<sup>10</sup> El amigo Manso,<sup>11</sup> Lo prohibido,<sup>12</sup> Fortunata y Jacinta,<sup>13</sup> Torquemada en el purgatorio,<sup>14</sup> and Misericordia,<sup>15</sup> for Galdós believed with G. Compayré that "no es solamente a los cinco o diez años cuando el pedagogo necesita estudiar al niño; desde la cuna debe sorprender los vagos estremecimientos del alma que nace."<sup>16</sup>

There is no hard-and-fast delimitation of the years that constitute infancy and childhood in this study, for often Galdós alludes vaguely to, rather than states specifically, the ages of these children. Modern psychology usually considers infancy to cover roughly the years up to three, and childhood from three to twelve or thirteen years. Rousseau carried infancy to seven years of age,<sup>17</sup> and child-

hood to twelve or thirteen,<sup>18</sup> but tests, it is well known, often show overlapping in physical, emotional and intellectual development. As far as has been possible, the age limit of fourteen has been considered here as the close of childhood.

In addition to his personal fondness for children, Galdós viewed them with a very practical eye for he saw in them continuity and the promise of the future (he refers to slum children as "la discordia del porvenir"<sup>19</sup> and to a precocious child as one of those destined to open "nuevos caminos a la humanidad"<sup>20</sup>) and for this reason he was concerned about their health, happiness and education. Undernourished and rickety children abound in Galdós' novels and were used by him to point out social evils needing attention. In this way he continued his constant process of giving instruction while writing. Galdós was saddened by the sight of unhappy children. "Es triste el espectáculo de la niñez que se consume en un servicio penoso y triste, privada de todo solaz,"<sup>21</sup> he wrote. And he spoke of "la travesura, ...propia de la edad..."<sup>22</sup>

In 1879 G. Compayré, discussing the psychology of the child, had written, "Nada prueba mejor los adelantos de la filosofía moderna, que la importancia dada al estudio de los fenómenos más insignificantes y oscuros de la vida moral de los niños. Podemos esperar que no pasará mucho

tiempo sin que, gracias a las repetidas experiencias de padres psicólogos bastante observadores, para ir analizando de día en día el desarrollo mental de sus hijos se llegue a formar lo que podría llamarse la psicología infantil."<sup>23</sup> Eleven or twelve years before the above was written Galdós had begun to evince his interest in the subject by his study of the personality and early schooling of a little girl named Clara in La fontana de oro. Some three years later El audaz presented a greatly enlarged picture of a child and in 1878 Marianela started young "Doctor" Centeno on his quest for education and La familia de León Roch contained a complete and delightful portrait of a two year old child. In the next several years Galdós was to present a series of studies of children, which in addition to being artistic creations because of their individuality, are surprisingly sound psychologically and full of pedagogical implications.

In the following chapters Galdós' treatment of childhood is studied in the light of psychological and pedagogical knowledge available in his time and with which he may have been familiar. In the original or in translations Galdós may have known Hippolyte Taine's De l'intelligence, James Sully's The Human Mind, W. Preyer's Die Seele des Kindes and others. He is known to have been a personal friend of the great Spanish educator, Don Francisco Giner

de los Ríos, and of Dr. Tolosa Latour, a physician and child specialist living in Madrid. Galdós was interested in the allied fields of sociology, psychology, pedagogy and medicine with regard to children and comparison of his novelistic work with that of the educators named in this study shows that he was conscious of the movements then on foot in Spain for the "emancipación del niño",<sup>24</sup> and sided in the effort by his portrayal of under-privileged children.

Galdós' novelas de la primera época and the novelas españolas contemporáneas are studied individually and chronologically, in order to show that interest in the subject of childhood was always present from the first novel, La fontana de oro, on. It reached its highest point between the years 1878 and 1888, when the major child characters of Monina, Mariano, Felipe, Isabelita Bringas, Papitos, and Luisito are developed and fifty-three of the ninety-seven named children appear, in addition to the largest number of unnamed children. Interest continued in a lesser degree to Angel Guerra, 1890-91, when there is the development of the three important characters of Encarnación, Ildefonso and Jesús. Interest rises again in Torquemada en el purgatorio and Torquemada y San Pedro, 1894-95, with the birth of Valentín II, the child monster. In Nazarín and Halma there is an almost Biblical impression of

the constant presence of children in the background, and the last child character developed at any length is that of the five-year-old Socorro of Casandra. It will be seen that, in harmony with the rest of his work, the child characters of Galdós become less individualistic and more socialized as the contemporary novels draw to a close.

In their varying degrees of importance, this study attempts to deal with all the children mentioned by Galdós in his novelas de la primera época and las novelas contemporáneas. Novels of the first period include: La fontana de oro, 1867-68; La sombra, 1870; El audaz, 1871; Doña Perfecta, 1876; Gloria (2 volumes) 1876-77; Mariandela, 1878 and La familia de León Roch (three volumes), 1878, and the contemporary novels: La desheredada, 1881; El amigo Menso, 1882; El doctor Centeno (two volumes), 1883; Tormento, 1884; La de Bringas, 1884; Lo prohibido (two volumes), 1884-85; Fortunata y Jacinta (four volumes), 1886-87; Miau, 1888; La incógnita, 1888-89; Torquemada en la hoguera, 1889; Realidad, 1889; Ángel Guerra (three volumes), 1890-91; Tristana, 1892; La loca de la casa, 1892; Torquemada en la cruz, 1893; Torquemada en el purgatorio, 1894; Torquemada y San Pedro, 1895; Nazarín, 1895; Halma, 1895; Misericordia, 1897; El abuelo, 1897; Casandra, 1905; El caballero encantado, 1909, and La razón de la sinrazón, 1915.

Many of the children in the above named novels are



nameless and appear singly or in groups to form part of the background. Very often objective details of their appearance are given. Of the ninety-seven named children, thirty-two are girls. The importance of these children in the novels will be seen to be three sided: sociological, psychological, and individualistic. The children, well demonstrating the slow growth of public interest in them, do not appear as main characters of novels, although El doctor Centeno and Miau bear the nicknames of two important child personalities. Their chief use is to serve as vehicles for Galdós' sociological thoughts. As a creative artist, however, Galdós was alive to the romantic fostering of the importance and dignity of the individual, and sought to understand the unfolding personalities of small children. This ability enabled him to create child characters whose naturalness and reality have been acclaimed by Spanish critics from Alas to del Río.<sup>25</sup>

The chapters of this study begin with a brief survey of the position of the child in the neighboring literatures of England and France in the nineteenth century. Galdós was familiar with this literature, an important feature of which was the growth of interest in the child and the abundant literature produced both about and for him. This background may have influenced Galdós' attitude toward children, for he was one of the few in Spain to recognize the exis-

tence of a child world and the first to treat it in some detail. Spanish literature itself had always recognized the child, but had rarely treated him as a literary personality.

In Galdós this recognition and personal fondness for children was combined with a scientific curiosity. He interested himself in the child as a human being worthy of study for his own sake, both because of his individuality and as a defenseless member of a society which often misused him. Galdós' scientific curiosity has its longest and most important expression in his study of the child delinquent, Mariano, of La desheredada. Here the author not only gives the action of the picaresque hero, but methodically and accurately analyzes the boy and his reactions. Even in this most naturalistic of his novels, Galdós is still the humanitarian, the crusader, the teacher, and Mariano, set against a background of numberless other delinquents, serves to call the attention of society to the appalling problem they present. A striking feature of the account is that Galdós reveals himself to be a competent and exact clinical psychologist, and in outline, follows almost exactly that of the model case study of C.M. Louttit, modern psychologist whose work Clinical Psychology of Children's Behavior Problems was published some fifty-five years later than La desheredada.

One of Galdós' primary interests was in education. He believed in it for people of every age. Children and Education presents a survey of all the aspects of the Galdós treatment of primary education. His point of view is again sociological, for he is trying to awaken an apathetic Spain to the realization that primary instruction is of utmost importance, but that in its current state it is accomplishing little, and often damaging children's characters. This theme runs through many novels, but the chief child character who, like Mariano, serves to point out the evils of the system, is Felipe Centeno. Seemingly according to plan, Galdós' long examination of primary education ends in his last novel with the picture of an ideal school where children receive practical education at the hands of agreeable and competent teachers.

In the chapters dealing with the little girls and boys the children have been studied by sex to see what variations in treatment may have been accorded them by Galdós. Although the number of named girls is considerably less than those of the boys, both sexes are given careful and artistic treatment in the characters which are developed. Recently experimenters in pre-school laboratories have told us that even in very early life there are definite character traits. One child is consistently dominating, another submissive; one talkative, another reticent; one

active in group play, another preferring solitude. These tendencies, innate or acquired, or both, are clearly evident in the Galdós child characters. Since psychological matter dealing with childhood was just in its beginnings, the Spanish novelist's insight into child-nature could have been due only in part to book knowledge. His ability may be regarded as due to some specialized faculty of intuition, but his information probably came to him precisely as it does to the psychologist of the present day: through study of whatever material is available, and through patient observation of the doings of little children, and the thoughtful interpretation of their meaning. Such observation is only possible through self control, much patience and a great expenditure of time. In many cases the reactions of the Galdós children are easily recognizable as entirely natural, and since modern psychology emphasizes many points indicated by Galdós, the latter's treatment of children may be said to represent a true contribution to the understanding of their psychology. The girls and the boys are individualized by location, appearance, and salient characteristics, and form part of the social classes portrayed in these novels.

Although Galdós wrote about many more boys than girls, his interest shifted back and forth almost equally between

them. He began his more extended treatments of children with the study of the little boy, Pablillo, in El audaz and about seven years later presented his first important study of a small girl, Monina, of La familia de León Roch. His attention shifted back to boys in La desheredada where, in addition to Mariano, there are five other individualized boys: Rafael, el Majito, Gonzalete and Zarapicos, Colilla, and Riquín. El amigo Manso centers interest on the girl, Irene. In El doctor Centeno, Felipe is the main character, and second place is occupied by Juan del Socorro and Rosa Ido, who also is mentioned in Tormento and Fortunata y Jacinta. La de Brindas has a reversal of this order, with Isabel receiving the major attention, and her brother, Alfonsín, second. Lo prohibido returns to the boys, Alejandro and Rafael, and Fortunata y Jacinta has three main child characters, two girls, Adoración and Papitos, and one boy, Pitusín. Luis Cadalso is the chief child character in Miau and the boy-wonder Valentín in Torquemada en la hoguera. The little girl Encarnación has the main interest in Angel Guerra, with two boys, Ildefonso and Jesús next in importance. Tristana has a brief treatment of Saturno, son of a servant woman, but the next important treatment is given Valentín II in Torquemada en el purgatorio. The last important child personality is the little girl, Socorro, of Cassandra. (This series runs: boy, girl, boys, girl, boy-girl-

boy, girl-boy, boy-boy, girl-boy, boy, boy, girl-boy-boy, boy, boy, girl, and totals nineteen boys and eight girls.)

Ages are not definitely given for all the children, but of the ten named girls whose ages Galdós states, Monina is two years old, Catalina and Teresita three, Adoración five or six, Socorro five, Encarnación of Ángel Guerra, six or seven, and Rosa Ido, Isabel Bringas and Irene are all nine or ten when they first appear, and Papitos twelve. The age of nine and ten contains three names, that of three, two names, and each of the others one name apiece.

There are no named girl babies, but the birth of twelve boys is observed: Jesús of Gloria, Ricquín, Maximín, Alejandrito, Rafael, Cesar and Belesario, Juan Evaristo Segismundo, Valentín II, Antonito and Paquito Zapata and Héspero. Of eighteen additional named boys Pitusín and Arturín are three, Aquiles five, Guru, and Jesús of Ángel Guerra six, Pablillo and Alfonsín nine, Luis Cadalso eight or ten, Rafael and Pepe of El caballero encantado ten, Sildo, Felipe, Gonzalez and Zarapicos, Rupertico and Valentín I twelve and Juan and Mariano each thirteen. The age of twelve contains six names; eight to ten, five names; two names each for two years, six years and thirteen years; and one name for the age of five. As well as by number, Galdós has shown preference for the older children by the more extended treat-

ment he has given them.

With the exception of Papitos among the girls, and Maximín, Alejandrito and Saturno among the boys, these individualized Spanish children are physically attractive, some of them angelic in appearance. With the exception of Mariano, they are morally sound, and even Mariano's misfortune is shown to be mainly the product of deterministic social factors. Intellectually they are above average, and many of them are superior. The common causes of health disorders are malnutrition and rickets.

In the concluding chapter on Birth and Death of Children it will be seen that Galdós gives far more importance to death as might be expected since the life and death of a personality is of greater meaning to readers and other characters alike than the arrival of a baby which has great meaning for others but little for the newborn one himself. From the sociological point of view Galdós treatment of this subject is based on the high mortality rate among small children, due to various child diseases and other causes which he names. Again his work is verified by statistics of the time. The named children who die are of well established individualities and, together with the countless unnamed ones, serve to call attention to the lack of measures for the protection of the health of children. From the psychological point of view, Galdós presents a

profound study of a sensitive child's reaction to the death of a playmate.

Naturalistic treatment is accorded the actual scenes of the final moments of dying children in that there is a complete lack of the imaginative element, or of pathos in the manner of Dickens, which gives the impression that the account has been written by an impersonal, clinical-minded eye-witness. Dr. Tolosa Latour, physician friend of Galdós, has attested to the accuracy of the descriptions.<sup>26</sup>

The prevailing tone of the Galdós treatment of children seems a respectful blend of affectionate interest and scientific curiosity. He was their champion because he saw their need and developed their novelistic personalities because he was interested in them as individuals.



## NOTES

1. Benito Pérez Galdós, Memoranda, Madrid, 1906, pp. 227-28.
2. Ibid., p. 45.
3. Luis Antón del Olmet y Arturo García Carraffa, Los grandes españoles: Galdós, V. I, Madrid, 1912, p. 146.
4. Marcel Braunschvig, "L'enfant au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle," Pages libres, II, 29 Août, Paris, 1903, p. 136.
5. Christian Brinton, "Galdós in English," The Critic, V. XLV, 1904, p. 449.
6. Edward Tompkins McLaughlin, Childhood in Mediaeval Literature, New York, 1894, p. 124.
7. Galdós, "La corte de Carlos IV," Episodios nacionales, Madrid, 1894, p. 301.
8. Alphonse de Lamartine, Oeuvres de, "Les confidences," Paris, 1897, p. 49.
9. Edouard Maynial, "Les romans de l'enfance et les confessions féminines," Chronique des lettres françaises, V.I, 1923, pp. 315-16.
10. Galdós, Gloria, Madrid, 1900, p. 335.
11. Galdós, El amigo Manso, Madrid, 1910, pp. 101-02.
12. Galdós, Lo prohibido, Madrid, 1906, p. 42.
13. Galdós, Fortunata y Jacinta, V. IV, Madrid, 1912, p. 304.
14. Galdós, Torquemada en el purgatorio, Madrid, 1894, p. 323.
15. Galdós, Misericordia, Madrid, 1897, p. 83.
16. G. Compayré, "La psicología del niño según trabajos re-

- cientes," La revista contemporánea, V.XIX, 1879, p. 204.
17. J.J. Rousseau, Oeuvres complètes de, V.II, Paris, 1865, p. 15.
18. Ibid., p. 135.
19. Galdós, La desheredada, V.I, Madrid, 1909, p. 106.
20. Galdós, Torquemada en la hoguera, Madrid, 1893, p. 22.
21. Galdós, El audaz, Madrid, 1907, p. 90.
22. Ibid., p. 90.
23. Compayré, p. 202.
24. M. de la Revilla, "La emancipación del niño," La revista contemporánea, V. XVI, 1878, p. 182; El audaz, p. 96.
25. Leopoldo Alas, Obras completas: Galdós, V. I, Madrid, 1912, pp. 102, 157, 179; Ángel del Río, Historia de la literatura española, New York, 1943, p. 126.
26. Manuel Tolosa Latour, "Bases científicas para la educación de los niños," La revista europea, V. XV, 1980, p. 6.

## CHAPTER I

### DEVELOPMENT OF INTEREST IN THE CHILD AS A LITERARY FIGURE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

The nineteenth century in England, France and Spain was the first to bring into literary prominence a figure, neglected up to then, yet worthy of interest for its own weakness: the child. In a little over a hundred years this small figure has become one of the main preoccupations of society and has found his rightful position as a real personality in literature.

The child has been well loved in all ages, but literary references to him are rare. He seldom appeared in Greek literature,<sup>1</sup> although he is found in several of Euripides' tragedies. In these tragedies the child is used to help produce a pathetic effect - he may be shown menaced by death, or dying, or deprived of his parents, but his personality is not developed and he does not give the impression of being a real person. Plutarch makes reference to the private power of children in his story of Themistocles. "His son being master of his mother, and by her means, of him, he said laughing, 'This child is greater than any man in Greece; for the Athenians command the Greeks, I command the Athenians, his mother commands me, and he commands his mother.'"<sup>2</sup>

In Latin literature the child scarcely exists. In the

eyes of the law children were little better than the chattels of the Head of the House.<sup>3</sup> This parental authority was carried to a greater length by the Romans than by any other people. The father had absolute authority over his children. He decided whether or not the new-born child should be reared; he punished what he regarded as misconduct with penalties as severe as banishment, slavery, and death. If the father decided to refuse the child, he was "exposed", that is, left to live or die on some highway. If he lived, his fate was usually worse than death, for such foundlings often fell into the hands of those whose trade was beggary and who trained children for the same profession. In the time of the Empire, at least, children were cruelly maimed and deformed in order to more readily excite the compassion of those to whom they appealed for alms. Such things are still done in southern Europe.<sup>4</sup>

Children played in those times as they do now, and the mother was the child's nurse for the most part. To the age of seven the mother taught both the boys and girls - first the language, then the elements of reading and writing and simple arithmetic. Then the boy passed under the care of regular teachers, but the girl remained the mother's constant companion. Her schooling was necessarily cut short, because the Roman girl became a wife so young.

Of the nursery stories that the mother and the slaves

told the child none has come down to us, but Quintillian says that Aesop's fables resembled them.<sup>5</sup> The Roman schools were probably the first to teach a foreign language, and after the Punic wars it became customary for the well-to-do to select for the child's nurse a Greek slave, that the child might acquire the Greek language as naturally as its own. In Latin literature there are many passages that testify to the affection felt for each other by nurse and child, but domestic life was not a favorite subject of Roman writers and no books were then written especially for or about the young. There are scattered references in literature from which something can be learned, and more is known from monumental sources,<sup>6</sup> but though the simple joys of childhood may not have been too sacred for the poet and essayist of Rome, the essayist and the poet did not make them their themes.

These things are of interest to us in the case of any ancient or foreign people; in the case of the Romans they are of especial importance, because they help explain the powerful influence which that nation exerted over the old world, and make it easier to understand why that influence is still felt in some degree today.

It is certain that the Bible has been a storehouse from which have been drawn illustrations of life and character, but Horace E. Scudder's study of Childhood in Literature and Art shows that actual appearances of children in

Old Testament literature are not frequent. "We have the incident of the exposure of Moses as a babe in the bullrushes; the sickness and death of Bathsheba's child; the expulsion of Samuel in the temple; the striking narrative of the restoration of the son of the widow of Zarephath by Elijah; and the still more graphic and picturesque description of the bringing back to life by Elisha of the child who had been born at his intercession to the Shunamite.... Then there is the abrupt and hard to be explained narrative of the jeering boys who followed the prophet Elisha."<sup>7</sup> In Scudder's words the apprehension of the sanctity of childhood was more positive with the Jew than with either the Greek or the Roman, and he found that there were no incidents of the childhood of Jesus which separate it from the childhood of others of the children of men.<sup>8</sup> As the story of Jesus' ministry proceeds, however, the presence of children in the multitudes that flocked around him is mentioned again and again.

Children are mentioned but briefly in other early literatures. For example, in the prologue to the story of Beowulf, the earliest and the greatest English epic, there is mention of a child. The Spear Danes were without a king when a ship came sailing into their harbor. It was filled with treasures and weapons of war; and in the midst of these warlike things was a baby sleeping. No man sailed the ship;

it came of itself, bringing the child, whose name was Scyld. He grew and became a mighty warrior, the king of the Spear Danes.

Family life was stern in England and parental authority lay heavily on the children. Varying attitudes toward children are well illustrated by three entries in Pepy's Diary which covers the years from 1660 to 1669:

"1661 April 11th... I met two little schoolboys going with pitchers of ale to their school-master to break up against Easter, and I did drink some of one of them and give him two pence. By and by we come to two little girls keeping cows, and I saw one of them very pretty, so I had a mind to make her ask my blessing, and telling her that I was her godfather, she asked me innocently whether I was not Ned Wooding, and I said that I was, so she kneeled down and very simply called, 'Pray, godfather, pray to God to bless me,' which made us very merry, and I gave her two-pence."<sup>9</sup>

"There happened a scaffold below to fall, and we feared some hurt, but there was none, but she (Lady Castle-maine) of all the great ladies only run down among the common rabble to see what hurt was done, and did take care of a child that received some little hurt, which methought was so noble."<sup>10</sup>

"23d... At cards until late, and being at supper, my boy being sent for some mustard to a neat's tongue, the rogue

staid half an houre in the streets, it seems at a bonfire, at which I was very angry, and resolve to beat him tomorrow. 24th. Up betimes, and with my salt eele went down into the parler and got my boy and did beat him until I was fain to take breath two or three times, yet for all I am afeard it will make the boy never the better, he is grown so hardened in his tricks, which I am sorry for, he being capable of making a brave man, and is a boy that I and my wife love very well."<sup>11</sup>

In England the first half of the eighteenth century saw a remarkable social development and in the last half the progress was almost bewildering. Many schools were established and men sought to improve and refine their manners. It was during this Classic Age of English literature that Swift wrote his Modest Proposal concerning the children of Ireland. It sets up the proposition that the poor Irish farmers ought to raise children as dainties, to be eaten, like roast pigs, on the tables of prosperous Englishmen. This is characteristic of Swift, but why he wrote it remains a mystery. Without his intention, Gulliver's Travels became a childhood classic along with Robinson Crusoe which had a world reputation at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

But for the most part M. F. Delattre says, "Le XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle anglais ne se departit en rien pour l'enfant de sa



sécheresse de coeur. Il n'abandonne rien pour lui de son confort intellectuel avant tout utilitaire et pratique. Les contes de fées ou les berceuses des vieilles servantes lui paraissent ridicules... Les rares livres que l'homme du monde achète pour ses enfants... sont des ouvrages utiles, instructifs ou moraux. Rien d'imaginatif, de clair et de joyeux. Tout est édifiant au possible..."<sup>12</sup> The genre developed as the influence of Rousseau began to be felt in England. Englishmen admired his ideal of perfection according to nature and began to ardently discuss the methods for the child's education.<sup>13</sup>

At the beginning of the nineteenth century the child began to assume real importance. Delattre writes that in England "on ne s'intéresse pas à lui jusqu'alors. On ne cherche pas à le comprendre, pour l'aimer mieux. Au lieu de se pencher vers lui, on prétend au contraire l'élever, au plus tôt, jusqu'aux sentiments et aux pensées des hommes. On l'habille d'une façon hideuse. On en fait un gentilhomme en miniature, silencieux et ennuyé; ou une jeune grand dame."<sup>14</sup>

In the period from 1800 to 1850 English fathers sent their wives and little children into the mines and factories, where sixteen hours' labor would hardly pay for the daily bread. This was the background in which Dickens as a child, poor and lonely, laid the foundation for his heart-rending

pictures of children. Paine's Rights of Man and Smith's Wealth of Nations had enormous influence. Coming so soon after the fall of the Bastille, they added fuel to the flames already kindled in England by the French Revolution. England turned to remedy her own economic conditions. Laws were established for the prevention of child labor and hundreds of schools were established.

With the re-evaluation of the family the child came to occupy an important place in literature, and novels gave more and more place to the childhood adventures of their characters. According to Delattre, "Les enfants, garçons, et fillettes, sont innombrables qui de Tommy Jones et Dicky Random à David Copperfield ou Oliver Twist, de Rose Maylie ou de la petite Dorrit à Maggie Tulliver ou à Jane Eyre, d'Artur Pendennis ou de William Dobbin à Crossjay Patterne et à David Grieve, nous retiennent chez les grand romanciers, et allègent leurs longues et denses études psychologiques, les uns de leur espièglerie combative ou de leur candor bourrue, les autres avec la grâce de leurs chevelures blondes en désordre, ou de leur âme câline, frileuse comme une sensitive. C'est chez l'enfant encore que les poètes ont puisé leurs claires intuitions du mystère de l'Esprit qui, on le sait, constituent l'élément essentiel du lyrisme anglais. Blake et Wordsworth, Elizabeth Browning et Cristina Rossetti, Ruskin comme Swinburne, tous vénèrent

l'enfant et le divinisent. Tous adorent, dans son regard ou son sourire, le reflet persistant des bonheures celestes."<sup>15</sup>

This cult of the child soon gave rise to attempts to write for the child, and so there was born in England a whole infantile literature. Adventure stories sprang up everywhere and authors such as Ballantyne and Kingston became famous. Even great writers like Stevenson were interested in the child. Like John Hawkins of Treasure Island, "le héros de tous les livres - et le progrès est d'importance - est à present un enfant."<sup>16</sup> Walter Scott inaugurated historic literature for children and in 1855 Charles Kingsley published Westward Ho which is still very popular. G.A. Henty of the British Dominion writers wrote more than eighty volumes of historical character, always based on a precise time and with the hero very young - sometimes a mere child.<sup>17</sup>

One of the finest pictures of school life was given in Thomas Hughes' Tom Brown's School Days, and a great group of writers strove to place medieval and ancient legends before the children. From Charles Lamb to Kipling numberless writers were contributing to the tremendous output of child literature in England during the nineteenth century.<sup>18</sup>

In the France preceding the nineteenth century, the family was founded on the absolute authority of the father. As M. Braunschvig says, "...; ainsi revivait dans les moeurs

françaises le vieil esprit romain. Et l'ancien régime, avec son amour des distinctions sociales bien tranchées, avait encore renforcé le caractère hiérarchique de la famille en y introduisant une inégalité foncière entre les divers enfants: les filles ne comptaient pour rien auprès des fils, les cadets devaient toujours s'effacer devant leurs aînés. Enfin, pour rendre plus sensibles aux yeux de tous ces divisions artificielles, et surtout pour les défendre contre toute revanche et tout empiètement de la nature, une étiquette rigoureuse s'était établie, qui, réglant les moindres rapports des parents et des enfants, empêchait la familiarité des manières et l'effusion des sentiments: c'était le temps où le père disait 'monsieur mon fils' et le fils 'madame ma mère', où l'usage du tutoiement était proscrit et l'habitude du baiser presque inconnue."<sup>19</sup>

In the second half of the sixteenth century Montaigne was thinking of children and his Essay VIII dealt with the treatment of them. Modern in his thinking, Montaigne believed that parents and their children should be companionable, that there should be fewer whippings and more love between them. In a later essay, the twenty-fifty, De l'institution des enfants appear his ideas on the education of children: the child should not be made to memorize facts, but should be trained in judgement and made to love learning.

French parents felt intense love for their children

even though the strictest formality prevailed in the family life. In the seventeenth century, according to Braunschvig, "Mme. de Sévigné aimait ardemment son fils et sa fille; mais si la fille s'entendait mieux avec elle de loin que de près, c'est justement parce qu'elle craignait qu'on ne trouvât ridicules les démonstrations trop affectueuses de sa mère; et cette mère très expansive avait beau paraître à son fils 'la meilleure et la plus aimable des mères', celui-ci en ses élans d'amour filial osait à peine 'aspirer à l'une de ses joues.'" <sup>20</sup> Racine was never happier than when with his family, and since the bourgeois etiquette was less rigorous than in the noble families, it is surprising to find no trace of affection or familiarity in his correspondence with his well-loved son Jean-Batiste. When Racine introduced a child on the stage, the innovation was regarded as being very audacious. "...et pourtant si le jeune Éliacin peut nous déconcerter, ce n'est certes pas, semble-t-il, par son caractère enfantin." <sup>21</sup>

La Fontaine, who loved animals, detested children. His attitude is well shown in the fable of L'écologiste, le pédant et le maître d'un jardin which begins:

"Certain enfant qui sentait son collège,  
 Doublement sot et doublement fripon  
 Par le jeune âge et par le privilege  
 Qu'ont les pédants de gâter la raison...

and ends:

Je ne sais bête au monde pire  
Que l'écolier, si ce n'est pas le pédant.  
Le meilleur de ces deux pour voisin, à vrai dire,  
Ne me plairait aucunement."<sup>22</sup>

And this is La Bruyere's portrait of the child: "Les enfants sont hautains, dédaigneux, colères, envieux, curieux, intéressés, paresseux, volages, timides, intempérants, menteurs, dissimulés; ils rient et pleurent facilement: ils ont des joies immodérées et des afflictions amères sur de très petits sujets; ils ne veulent point souffrir de mal, et aiment à en faire: ils sont déjà des hommes."<sup>23</sup>

In the eighteenth century the French customs had not changed. Mirabeau trembled in front of his father and he himself says that he had never had the honor of touching the cheek of that venerable man.<sup>24</sup> Chateaubriand, telling of his childhood at the chateau of Combourg, says that in the evenings his mother sat silently at the side of the fire while the father in his long black robe paced back and forth through the shadowy room. Little René and his sister sat in front of the chimney scarcely daring to exchange a few words while the father's back was turned. When the father asked what they were talking about, the two children were too terrified to answer.<sup>25</sup>

The revolution in education which Rousseau began helped to focus world attention on the child. "C'est encore Rousseau directement ou à travers ses disciples, Sand et Michelet,

Rousseau dont est nourrie toute la littérature du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle, qui agit sur les romanciers contemporains et par eux. Le souci philosophique de pédagogie qu'il leur a donné s'est entretenu par le succès mondain, après les poèmes de Hugo, des autobiographies, des mémoires d'enfant de Michelet, de Renan, de Tolstoï...<sup>26</sup>", writes M. Leblond in his La société française sous la troisième république.

The revolution of 1789 had turned French society upside-down. With the new democratic spirit came the abolition of the distinction of classes, the equality of sexes and the suppression of the rights of older children. The father lost his brutality and the mother began to come out of hiding. How deeply-rooted was this idea of parental authority and how baneful its influence is shown by this passage written by Leblond as late as 1906: "Le prolétariat a un moyen immédiat de travailler à la paix du monde, c'est de renoncer à la correction brutale et à l'injure aux enfants. C'est dans la famille que se cultive la violence et que le prolétaire se prépare à l'esclavage. C'est cette misérable hérédité d'un droit paternel sans control qui nous prépare à l'obéissance absurde et à la résignation des coups."<sup>27</sup> In the constant struggle of this century toward "la lumière" all eyes began to turn toward the child. "Voilà pourquoi serrant la réalité de plus près, tant d'écrivains, poètes, romanciers, auteurs dramatiques, se sont si curieusement approchés de l'enfant pour le

saisir dans ses diverses attitudes et aux moments les plus variés de son existence."<sup>28</sup>

As has been noted, one of the first literary manifestations of the interest in the child were the numerous "Souvenirs d'enfance" which appeared in France. Among the more famous are: Chateaubriand: Mémoires d'outre tombe, Lamartine: Le manuscrit de ma mère, Victor Hugo: Victor Hugo raconté par un témoin de sa vie, George Sand: Histoire de ma vie, J. Valles: L'enfant, Renan: Souvenirs d'enfance et de jeunesse, Michelet: Ma jeunesse, Pierre Loti: Le roman d'un enfant, Anatole France: Le livre de mon ami, Jean Aicard: L'âme d'un enfant, and Madame Michelet's Mémoires d'une enfant. Even grandfathers recorded their impressions. Poets who had no children, Alfred de Musset and Sully Prudhomme, sang of them. According to Braunschvig "la liste s'allongerait encore des poètes qui ont chanté l'enfant, si, sans nous en tenir aux plus grands d'entre eux, nous voulions aussi nommer ceux de deuxième ou de troisième ordre, depuis Brizeux jusqu'à Laprade, depuis Eugène Manuel jusqu'à François Coppée. Bien plus longue d'ailleurs serait l'énumération de tous les romanciers qui dans leur oeuvres ont fait une place à l'enfant, comme Toppfer et Dickens, Georges Sand et Jules Sandeau, Hector Malot et Alphonse Daudet..."<sup>29</sup> And since this time there have been many, many more who have attempted to paint the soul of the child. "Entre estas obras, concretándonos



a las más conocidas, estan: L'enfant, de Gustave Droz; Poum y Zette, de los hermanos Margueritte; Mon petit Trott, La petite soeur de Trott, Line y notre Minne, de André Lichtenberger; Quand j'étais petit, de Lucien Biart; Poill de carotte y Les bucoliques de Jules Renard, y finalmente, el primer volumen de Jean Cristophe, de Romain Rolland."<sup>30</sup>

Many books, also, have been written for the French child, but as Braunschvig writes, "en cuanto a los libros escritos para uso de los niños, están lejos de satisfacerles siempre."<sup>31</sup> "Il est remarquable," says Anatole France in Le livre de mon ami, "que les enfants montrent, la plupart du temps, une extrême répugnance à lire les livres qui sont faits pour eux."<sup>32</sup> Strangely enough, the few books which have become children's classics have been written by men of genius who were not thinking of an infantile public. Such were the authors of Don Quijote, Robinson Crusoe and Gulliver's Travels. Braunschvig comments, "viendo que obras semejantes han llegado a ser 'los clásicos de la infancia', se comprende que Anatole France haya podido decir, sin exageración, que 'para ser comprendido por la infancia, nada vale como un gran genio.'"<sup>33</sup>

In France also, the fear of depopulation had turned the attention of all not only to the child but to all children. People began to regard them as rare and fragile little beings and to be interested in books which dealt with children. "... et jamais," Leblond writes, "comme

si nous étions à une période de fécondité de la race, il n'y a eu une si abondante littérature consacrée à l'enfance."<sup>34</sup>

In addition, the two literatures which have had the most profound influence on French literature, English and Russian, have been two in which the child has been deeply studied. In spite of the abundance of child literature in France, there were regrets that it was less copious than that of England,<sup>35</sup> for in the decade which followed 1870 Leblond says, "on n'avait plus le coeur à jouer avec les enfants, on cherchait des hommes. La littérature pessimiste de l'époque n'a observé les enfants qu'au hasard de la vie regardée, par désir et nécessité de tout montrer, sans tendresse ni même préoccupation spéciales. Le seul grand roman littéraire consacré presque entier à dire un existence d'enfant - et d'enfant malheureux, Jack [Daudet] surprit les lettrés comme un retour à un thème délaissé..."<sup>36</sup>

In Spain, as in France, the old Roman idea of the uncontested authority of the father held down into modern times. In 1878 M. de la Revilla could write, "En la organización de la familia, la sociedad no ha visto hasta ahora más que el padre. Ante su majestuosa figura todo ha quedado oscurecido, y apenas si el cristianismo y la gente germánica han logrado recabar algunos derechos para la madre y el hijo. Aun se combate, a nombre de la libertad y de la economía política, la instrucción obligatoria y la

reglamentación por el Estado del trabajo del niño y de la mujer; aun se considera al padre dotado de todos los derechos y apenas se le imponen otros deberes que algunos referentes al orden económico, y tal cual tímida prescripción relativa al intelectual y moral; aun impera en las leyes y costumbres la inflexible patria potestas del pueblo romano."<sup>37</sup>

One would scarcely expect to find the mention of children in the songs of the early juglares in Spain, for these early accounts celebrated the mighty deeds of famous chiefs. But in the greatest of them all, El Cid, the characters are not only Christians and Moors, but persons apart from military life: women, children, monks and Jews.<sup>38</sup> The age of the little daughters of the Cid is not given, but in Doña Jimena's words: "...iffantes son e de dias chicas."<sup>39</sup> Beyond this they are not described and their use in the story is to complete the picture of the character of the Cid by showing his love for family life. The most important appearance of a child, however, occurs as the exiled Cid is knocking on one of the inhospitable doors of Burgos. A little girl nine years of age appears, makes her brave little speech and turns back into the house. She has denied aid to the mighty warrior who could have had all for the taking, but her personality has only been used as a symbol of the fear of a people, and there is no impression of her as a person.

The child is not excepted from La danza general which

Ticknor calls "a kind of spiritual masquerade, in which the different ranks of society, from the Pope to the young child, appear dancing with the skeleton form of death."<sup>40</sup> Death, in his own words, excuses no one from the dance:

"O piensas por ser mançebo baliente  
O ninno de días que a luenne estaré  
O fasta que llegues a viejo impotente  
La mi venida me detardaré." <sup>41</sup>

The thirteenth or fourteenth century Poema de José tells the story of a child who is sold by his treacherous brothers to Egyptian merchants. Joseph's age is not given, but the poet described him as a "ninno de pocos annos."<sup>42</sup> The boy's angelic disposition permits no feeling of animosity or resentment toward his brothers.

In the Spain of the fifteenth century, the celebrated Amadís, son of an imaginary king of the imaginary kingdom of Gaula, is twelve years old when he falls in love with the ten year old princess Oriana, and there is a chapter in the first part of the story on their infantile love. The boy's origin was illegitimate and the story of his exposure on the sea by his mother, the British princess Elisena, is reminiscent of the Biblical story of Moses. One of the first poets of that century, Gómez Manrique, wrote conventional poems on the birth of a nephew,<sup>43</sup> on the birth of the king's son,<sup>44</sup> and to the Child Jesus.<sup>45</sup>

The very early representations of the theater, too,

had their mentions of the child. Bartolomé de Torres Naharro's La Calamita deals with the adventures of a child stolen in infancy, and the play contains a passage on early child training delivered by the character Phileo:

"La juuventud, si he notado,  
es metal  
como el hierro por yqual,  
que cumple para polillo  
rezo fuego y gran martillo  
y vna fatiga bestial,  
la niñez qu'es de panal  
blanda cera,  
que se la amassa quienquiera  
con los dedos de las manos.  
Salen los hijos loçanos  
de criança, y de manera  
que si hijos Dios me diera,  
yo tomara  
y en niñez los castigara,  
no en juuentud, qu' es muy malo  
qu'el moco tiene ya el palo  
quando vos tomáis la vara."<sup>46</sup>

Later the realistic one-act dramatic sketches called pasos included child characters. One of the most famous, Las aceitunas of Lope de Rueda contains Mencigüela, the daughter of the featured characters, Toruvió and his wife

Águeda.<sup>47</sup> Mencigüela may well be quite young since she is called "niña" and "muchacha" and her conversation indicates youth or extreme simplicity. Juan de Timoneda's paseo, Un paseo de dos ciegos y un moro has for a chief character the picaresque Palillos who, in asking for employment, demonstrates his good qualities by showing how skillfully he had robbed a blind beggar.<sup>48</sup>

In 1566 Santa Teresa de Jesús wrote her famous Vida and passed quickly over details of her childhood. From the few glimpses given, it is known that she was one of twelve children of whom "todos parecieron a sus padres, por la bondad de Dios, en ser virtuosos, sino fui yo, aunque era la más querida de mi padre."<sup>49</sup> The early development of her religious tendencies is shown in her precocious desire for martyrdom: "Concertábamos irnos a tierra de moros, pidiendo por amor de Dios, para que allá nos descabezasen..."<sup>50</sup>

An early non-literary biography of a child was that of Felipe II written in the form of letters by his ayo Pedro González de Mendoza. The publisher of this collection, Professor José María March, says in the multitude of letters, "informes, consultas y otros documentos... le vemos y seguimos paso a paso, aunque son saltos, en su infancia, en su niñez y en su juventud, y asistimos a su gradual desarrollo, desde que comenzó a balbucear las primeras pala-

bras hasta el tiempo en que gobernaba ya la nación a nombre de su padre."<sup>51</sup>

Felipe II himself contributed to the early literature of childhood with his letters written to his two little daughters, Isabel, not yet fifteen, and Catalina, scarcely thirteen and a half. In these letters the publisher, M. Gachard says, "Philippe II s'attache particulièrement à tenir ses filles informées de ce qui regarde sa personne et la façon dont il emploie le temps qu'il ne consacre pas aux affaires de l'État. Mais dans tout cela ne réside pas le véritable intérêt de ses lettres. Ce qui les fera lire, c'est la tendresse qu'il témoigne à ses enfants, le souci qu'il prend de leur bien-être, de ce qui peut leur donner quelque satisfaction; ce sont, en un mot, ses sentiments de père..."<sup>52</sup> In letter IX dated the 23rd of October, 1581 from Lisbon Felipe II wrote: "Vous dites que votre frère (Don Diego) lirait mieux s'il se donnait plus de peine: recommandez-lui de la prendre, afin que, quand je retournerai à Madrid, au plaisir de Dieu, il sache bien lire et un peu écrire; dites-lui que, quand il écrira, je lui enverrai une écriture des Indes..."<sup>53</sup>

These letters of the king are particularly remarkable during this century, for children held little place either in the minds of men or in the literature. It is true that during this century Spain saw one of her most famous child characters appear in literature, Lazarillo de Tormes, who

begins his story with references to his birth<sup>54</sup> and heads the long list of literary pícaros who were to follow him, but in general there was scant mention of children. Literature of the time reflected the home life and there were rank inequalities within the family. It was the era of the "segundones"; that is, not the first born sons of noble houses. A mighty impulse exalted the furor of nobility during these centuries through the increasing facilitation of the foundation of fiefs or "mayorazgos." Whoever could prove a steady income of at least 500 ducats yearly, was free to make his means secure in the name of himself and his descendants as right of primogeniture to continue to the oldest son. From this there came an enormous number of "mayorazgos" whose arrogance and laziness was in no proportion to their means, and at the same time the deprived and dispossessed "second born" formed a new social class. These children were considered too noble for any bodily work and so grew up to increase the band of idlers, spongers, and job hunters if they did not find suitable shelter in the army or church.<sup>55</sup> Girls were carefully watched over by the father and brothers, and, in necessity, cruelly avenged.

Among the dramatists before the time of Lope de Vega was Leonardo de Argensola who added an element of horror to the history of children in literature with his Alexandra in which children's heads are cut off and thrown at their parents on the stage.<sup>56</sup>



Miguel de Cervantes' Comedia del cerco de Numancia contains a number of child characters which were added to increase the pathetic element of the play. Some are babes in arms and others old enough to speak and beg for food are designated simply as "hijos." The most important child character, Barlato, is the boy who is the last to die in the doomed city of Numancia. He is first shown fleeing from the wholesale self-destruction of the city to a tower where he hopes to hide. As he realizes the situation, his courage overcomes his fear and he defies the advancing Romans before he hurls himself to his death on the stones below the tower.<sup>57</sup> The boy's death is so identified with the death of the city that he serves only as a final symbol of the invincible love for liberty of the Numantians.

Cervantes knew, as he wrote his second part of the Don Quijote, that children were fond of his book. In the third chapter Sansón Carrasco speaks of the wonderful clarity of the book: "...es tan clara que no hay cosa que dificultar en ella: los niños la manosean, los mozos la leen, los hombres la entienden y los viejos la celebran..."<sup>58</sup>

There was little place for children in all the vast production of Lope de Vega, although he wrote a play on the childhood of San Isidro and as his Autos sacramentales were performed Ticknor says the street procession was followed by "a company of fair children, with garlands on their heads, singing hymns and litanies of the church."<sup>59</sup> The poems

which really reflect a love for childhood are those which were dedicated to Carlos, the little son who died before he was seven years of age. José F. Montesinos calls Lope's Rimas sacras "un libro capital en la historia de nuestra lírica a causa de algunos sonetos y a causa de la espléndida elegía que Lope escribió a la muerte de su hijo Carlos Félix. Admirables son esas marmóreas estrofas del comienzo, de tan grave música, sobria expresión de dolor y resignación... Admirable es esa transición de los versos 31 y siguientes, cuando calla el creyente y habla el padre:

'Y vos, dichoso niño, que en siete años  
Que tuvistes de vida no tuvistes  
Con vuestro padre inobediencia alguna...  
No distes sola una hora  
de disgusto.'<sup>60</sup>

Entre los bienaventurados, Carlos Félix sigue siendo un niño, el hijo de Lope... Carlos Félix fué realmente un rayo de sol en la tormentosa existencia de su padre. Junto a él vivió los momentos más felices de su vida, descritos en los mejores tercetos de una célebre epístola:

'Cuando Carlillos de azucena y rosa  
vestido el rostro, el alma me traía  
contando por donaire alguna cosa.

Con este sol y aurora me vestís;  
Retozaba el muchacho, como en prado  
Cordero tierno al prólogo del día.

Cualquiera desatino mal formado

De aquella media lengua era sentencia,

Y el niño a besos de los dos traslado.<sup>61</sup>

La muerte del niño hubo de ser para Lope una tremenda calamidad, un derrubamiento de ilusiones y esperanzas y no debió de contribuir poco a que el poeta 'ordenando su desorden' se cogiera a la Iglesia."<sup>62</sup>

Lope de Vega's little song which is supposed to have been sung in a palm grove, by the Madonna, to her sleeping child, is one of his most beautiful and contains the following lines:

"Pues andáis en las palmas,  
ángeles santos  
que se duerme mi niño  
tened los ramos."<sup>63</sup>

Among Lope de Vega's followers was Luis Vélez de Guevara in whose best known play Más pesa el rey que la sangre appears a famous child, Don Pedro, son of Don Alonso de Guxmán, who voluntarily furnishes the weapon which is used to kill the boy. The child's age is not known, but the father refers to him as a "cordero inocente, Que aun apenas balar sabe." Later there is a scene in which father and son commend each other and the child approaches death with these words:

"Morir osaré invencible  
Como tierno leonés Marte,  
Como de mi rey vasallo,

Como hijo de tal padre,  
Como cristiano y Guzmán  
Como caballero y mártir."<sup>64</sup>

This same legend appears in later plays bearing the same name.

Aside from literature, as the seventeenth century progressed, there was a growing interest in the education of children. With the Renaissance a new conception of man and of the world had formed. A scientific spirit was beginning to make itself felt and schools of free primary instruction had been organized in the sixteenth century, when they were unknown in the rest of the continent. The great precursors of modern psychology and education, Juan Huarte de San Juan and Luis Vives, had laid the foundations for future interest in child development.

The decline of the Spanish empire, begun in the seventeenth century, had a noticeable effect upon Spanish letters and manifested itself in the low state of Spanish culture at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Eighteenth century French literature and taste dominated the whole of Europe and this influence was as strong in Spain as elsewhere. In Spain it was a century of literary criticism, of erudition, of investigation and the cultivation of sciences, but as Ticknor says, "Spain was still deplorably behind the other countries of Western Europe in that intellectual cultivation."<sup>65</sup>

The theater of Don Ramón de la Cruz constitutes the best record of Spanish life of the eighteenth century. In these realistic sainetes children appear as part of the life and character of the time. A good example of their appearance is found in La comedia casera where they illustrate the state of child education. A gentleman, Nicolás, questions two children who are whispering in a corner of the room:

Don Nicolás: ¿Por qué no jugáis, chiquillos?

Chico: Ya jugamos.

Don Nicolás: Yo no os veo  
sino cuchichear.

Joaquina: Es que  
jugamos a los cortejos.

Don Nicolás: Y decidme, vidas mías,  
¿quién os enseñó ese juego?

Joaquina: ¡Qué preguntón es el hombre!  
Esto se aprende de verlo.

Don Nicolás: Mi alma, ¿y vas a la escuela?

Joaquina: Iba, pero como el tiempo  
es tan caliente en el verano  
y tan frío en el invierno  
le he quitado hasta que tenga  
catorce años por lo menos.

Don Nicolás: ¡Pero sabrá la doctrina  
cristiana?

Joaquina: No sé; yo creo  
que sí; la sabes?

Chico: Ya sé  
la mitad del Padre Nuestro.

Don Nicolás: Válgame Dios, ¡qué crianza!"<sup>66</sup>

An outstanding book of the century, Torres Villarroel's history of his own life, Vida, ascendencia, nacimiento, crianza, y aventuras, sheds little light on his childhood. He was one of eighteen children<sup>67</sup> but their home life is not pictured, and his Vida really begins when he leaves home at the age of eighteen.<sup>68</sup>

In the search for literary references to children through this period one finds that the poet José Iglesias de la Casa has various pleasing lines dedicated to his own youth. Among the Anacreónticas are found poems beginning in this manner:

"En tanto que fui niño  
No supe de trabajos  
Ni el pago que dar suelen  
La edad y el desengaño."<sup>69</sup>

and

"Siendo yo niño tierno  
Iba cogiendo flores..."<sup>70</sup>

Iglesias also published in Salamanca in 1785 La niñez laureada of which Ángel Salcedo Ruiz gives the following note: "El asunto de este poemita es un niño prodigo, de tres años, seis meses y veinticuatro días, que en la Universidad de Salamanca fue examinado (3 de Abril 1785) y

dato por sabio entre los aplausos de la concurrencia."<sup>71</sup>  
Salcedo had not found this poem included in any edition that he had seen.

French influence helped produce the two fabulists, Iriarte and Samaniego, of eighteenth century Spain. Some of the fables which Félix María de Samaniego wrote were designed expressly for children. The Biscayan society founded in 1785 devoted itself much to the education of the people; and, to favor this great cause, Samaniego undertook to write fables suited to the capacity of the children taught in the Society's Seminary. They succeeded at once. The children learned them by heart.<sup>72</sup>

Other poets touch lightly on the theme of childhood. José de Somoza is the author of some poems about an orphan girl whose death he mourned,<sup>73</sup> and at the age of seventy-two he recalled in his Recuerdos e impresiones an incident of beneficence to a prisoner performed by himself at the age of ten years.<sup>74</sup> Inspired by the common poetic theme of the death of a daughter, Alberto Lista wrote his "A Silvio, en la muerte de su hija";<sup>75</sup> and a playwright who was particularly interested in the insufficient education of girls, Leandro Fernández de Moratín, wrote El sí de las niñas,<sup>76</sup> a severe criticism of the existing system of education. Meléndez Valdés, who, as Ticknor says, gives "glimpses of what is tenderest and truest in the human heart"<sup>77</sup> has among his poems many references to childhood: "Siendo yo niño

tierno...".<sup>78</sup> "Los recuerdos de mi niñez",<sup>79</sup> "Regalando unos dulces a una señorita de pocos años",<sup>80</sup> "El niño dormido",<sup>81</sup> and "La ternura maternal."<sup>82</sup>

The common attitude toward children in the everyday world in the latter part of the century is well shown in the reminiscences of Don Baldomero Santa Cruz in Galdós' Fortunata y Jacinta as he compares the modern youth's freedom with the lack of it in his own youth. "No son estos tiempos como los míos, en que no la corría ningún chico del comercio, y nos tenían a todos metidos en un puño hasta que nos casaban. ¡Qué costumbres aquéllas tan diferentes de las de ahora!.... ¡Qué padre le daría hoy un par de bofetadas a un hijo de veinte años por haberse puesto las botas nuevas en día de trabajo? ... Mi padre era una fiera; no me perdonaba nada... Pero en lo referente a sociedad, yo era un salvaje. Como mis padres no me permitían más compañía que la de otros muchachones tan ñoños como yo, no sabía ninguna suerte de travesuras, ni había visto a una mujer más que por el forro, ni entendía de ningún juego, ni podía hablar de nada que fuera mundano y corriente. Los domingos mi madre tenía que ponerme la corbata y encasquetarme el sombrero... Nuestros padres... nos casaron como se casa a los gatos, y punto concluído..."<sup>83</sup>

With this the attitude of the family, it is not difficult to see that artists and writers took little interest in the child. Spanish authors, as Braunschvig



noted of French authors, "ne le trouvaient pas susceptible de fournir matière à des représentations assez harmonieuses, de même les écrivains ne le jugeaient pas capable de donner lieu à des développements psychologiques assez riches. C'est en vérité, au physique comme au moral, l'enfant, peut-on dire, est tout entier en voie de formation. Il n'est presque rien dans le présent: en lui on devine seulement l'avenir. Aussi nous expliquons-nous que les représentants de l'esprit classique dans la littérature et dans l'art, c'est-à-dire tous ceux dont l'imagination éprise de netteté et toujours soumise au contrôle de la raison ne se plaît qu'aux spectacles des réalités bien définies, ne se soient pas intéressés à l'enfant, dont les pensées sont obscures et les formes inachevées. Et puis, s'il est vrai que les oeuvres littéraires comme les oeuvres artistiques reflètent toujours les moeurs de la société qui les a vues naître, il est naturel qu'avant le dix-neuvième siècle l'enfant n'ait pas eu plus de place dans la littérature qu'il n'en avait dans la société."<sup>84</sup>

As in the other countries, a great transformation took place in the family life of Spain during the nineteenth century and the figure of the child became more and more important. The nineteenth century was a time of struggle - military, political and economic. Spain never had an industrial revolution as did France and England and so

some of the old institutions remained, but when the country united in defense against Napoleon, class privileges disappeared. With the end of the Carlist wars there was peace, but social classes were all mixed up and there began a period of social reforms which included the establishment of obligatory education and the reorganization of public instruction.

As the child came to have more importance in the life of the family and in education, he naturally came to hold the same place in the thoughts of the psychologists, the physicians, the artists and the writers. With the slow growth of romanticism which had begun far back in the eighteenth century and reached its fulness in the thirties, there came interest in the individual and his traits. Alison Peers says this period ushered in the romantic characteristics of "...a love of the vague, unformed and unfinished... Here Catalonia very markedly, and more gradually through the whole of Spain, was penetrating the powerful influence of Sir Walter Scott... It is significant that while Hugo, Lamartine, Musset, Dumas, Scribe, and half a score more of Frenchmen influenced Spanish literature, the influence of Scott surpassed them all..."<sup>85</sup>

The romantic incident of the exposure of the new-born child of the sister of the Moorish ruler, Almanzor, furnished the title for D. Ángel de Saavedra Duque de Rivas' El moro expósito, a new adaptation of the old legend of

Los infantes de Lara. The poet traces the early childhood of the boy under his mother's loving care and the tutorship of Zaide:

"A Zaide, que modelo de virtudes  
Y de las ciencias luz Cordoba aclama,  
Los tiernos años del gracioso niño  
Con discreta elección prudente encarga..."<sup>86</sup>

until his fourteenth year when his mother dies and he begins in earnest to learn "fulminar la dura lanza."<sup>87</sup> Mudarra quickly becomes a man but the work begins to show the additional attention childhood was to receive from artists.

Among the prose writers of the romantic period were the costumbristas who introduced children as part of the scenes described. Mesonero Romanos' account of La romería de San Isidro contains this description of children: "La conversación por todas partes era alegre y animada, y las escenas a cual más varia e interesante. Por aquí unos traviesos muchachos atando una cuerda a una mesa llena de figuras de barro, tiraban de ella corriendo y rodaban estrepitosamente todos aquellos artefactos, no sin notable enojo de la vieja que los vendía;... y en lo alto de las colinas cerraban todo este cuadro varios grupos de muchachos que arrojaban cohetes al aire."<sup>88</sup> The display of a dead body was the occasion for a demonstration by children on the street<sup>89</sup> and in "La hija" Mesonero deplores the modern custom of turning new-born children over to foster mothers.<sup>90</sup>

Ildefonso Cvejas' introduction to the Obras de Don José

Zorrilla calls attention to Zorrilla's early recollections of childhood in his poetry: "Véase con cuan dulce afecto recuerda el poeta las impresiones religiosas de su niñez ...Este es uno de los mejores trozos de Zorrilla como poeta de sentimiento, las dulces melancólicas memorias de la infancia lo han despertado en su alma."<sup>91</sup> Ovejas is referring to Zorrilla's La virgen al pie de la cruz, and A la niña C.D.E. One of Zorrilla's lovely poems referring to children is his El niño y la maga, a fantasy which begins with the well known lines:

" | Cuán risueña es el alba de la vida,  
Esa mágica edad de la ilusión  
En que vejeta el alma adormecida  
Ajena de inquietud y de ambición!

...

Entonces sin pensar en quien nos hizo  
Ni el vano mundo y su placer traidor,  
Gozamos por el día tanto hechizo  
Y dormimos la noche sin temor..."<sup>92</sup>

Campoamor's poetry contains lines dedicated to the innocent pleasures of childhood in titles such as "La niña y la mariposa",<sup>93</sup> García Gutierrez's El trovador is based upon the substitution of one child for another, and Gil y Zárate gave new life to the old legend in Guzmán el Bueno. According to Francisco Blanco García, Fernán Caballero's only intention with relation to children was "la de demostrar prácticamente cuan consoladora, irremplazable

y práctica es la enseñanza de la Religión... para el niño débil..."<sup>94</sup> Blanco García also speaks of Ventura Ruiz Aguilera (1820-1881), director of the Museo Arquelógico Nacional who wrote Elegías. "El poeta consagra el libro entero a la memoria de una hija idolatrada, ángel del hogar arrebatado a su cariño en la flor de la juventud, y con una solicitud casi supersticiosa nos va pintando sus alegrías de antes y sus tristezas de hoy, fijándose en la golondrina que vaga errante buscando el amigo rostro de otros tiempos; en el saboyano, cuyo música fué encanto de la doncella; en los juguetes que formaban el monumento de Navidad, hoy confundidos, mudos y dispersos..."<sup>95</sup>

As has been seen, interest in the child as a literary personage in his own right was slow to develop in the early and middle parts of the nineteenth century. Examination of leading Spanish periodicals fails to reveal any studies of children, but as the century progressed interest increased. Some interest was shown in works for children: Juan Valera's El pájaro verde became a favorite short story for children, Fernando de Castro (who died in 1874 and for whom Galdós had the greatest affection<sup>96</sup>) is known to have made a version of Don Quijote especially for children<sup>97</sup> and much later El padre Coloma (1851-1915) wrote his Cuentos para niños.<sup>98</sup>

In the latter part of the century tremendous figures in Spanish life who led the way to interest in children

were Francisco Giner de los Ríos with his modern ideas on education - progressive education apart from the church, with complete education of the body and mind, Joaquín Costa in national sociology, and in medicine and psychology, Dr. Tolosa Latour of Madrid and others were writing constantly about the child.

Books which are mainly autobiographical in character are much fewer in Spain than in France. Galdós himself, who left no childhood memories, makes this comment; "Como las memorias y correspondencias de hombres célebres son en España muy escasas, por incuria de nuestros bibliófilos y coleccionistas, o porque realmente no han sido abundantes, acontece que muchas ilustres e interesantes vidas permanecen hoy olvidadas."<sup>99</sup> In Mesonero Romanos' Memorias de un setentón natural y vecino de Madrid, occurs this typical account covering three years of his childhood: "Así pasaban meses y meses en aquella tristísima inacción, y así transcurrió todo el año de 1809, en el que, cumplidos los seis de mi edad, empecé a ir a la escuela de primeras letras, a cargo de D. Tomás Antonio del Campo y Fernández (que la tenía en la próxima calle del Carmen, frente a las gradas del convento), y allí, bajo la férula de aquel clásico tipo del pedagogo, cuya estampa y discurso no hubieran desdeñado Quevedo ni el Padre Isla para sus donosos protagonistas, y con el obligado acompañamiento de palmeta y disciplinas, empecé a balbucir...y a declinar maquina-

mente nominativos y conjugar verbos con aquella ramplona monotonia que regalaba nada menos que el período de tres años para las primeras letras, o sea el arte de leer, escribir y contar."<sup>100</sup>

Some glimpses of the childhood of other famous Spanish authors are found in Juan Valera's Noticia autobiográfica, Pedro Antonio de Alarcón's Historia de mis libros and Diario de un testigo de la guerra de Africa, Armando Palacio Valdés' Años de juventud del doctor Angelico and La novela de un novelista, Unamuno's Recuerdos de niñez y mocedad, and Azorín's Confesiones de un pequeño filósofo.

Children appear as actual characters in the novels of José María de Pereda. Sotileza, for example, starts out very auspiciously with the appearance of six dirty and ragged boys all under ten years of age<sup>101</sup> in a fishing village of Santander. They are from the lowest class of the village, each has a nickname and, in exchange for a few morsels of food which the village priest is able to give them, they attempt to learn the simplest prayers. Unhappily, after the first twenty pages their individualities are lost among the many muchachos de lancha. Silda, later Sotileza, is a small, abused orphan when the story opens. In character she is extremely impassive and enigmatic and probably for this reason her character never gives the impression of true childhood in her early years.

Emilia Pardo Bazán introduced many children in her two novels which deal particularly with children, Los pazos de Ulloa and La madre Naturaleza. She has a particularly delicate and happy inspiration in her treatment of very young children. The character of Perucho, three or four-year-old boy<sup>102</sup> whose own grandfather is teaching him to drink strong liquors, is very reminiscent of Galdós' Pitusín. In the midst of the filth of every kind which surrounds him, the personality of Perucho is distinct. The infancy of Manuela, legitimate heiress of Moscoso, is described with sympathy and naturalness.

The nineteenth century, therefore, has been the first to show a definite interest in the child as a literary personage. Changing social conditions and the pronounced accent on the importance of the individual contributed to the increase of importance accorded the child. Literature both for and about the child sprang up in great abundance in England and France and undoubtedly helped to encourage the production of similar literary effort in Spain.

Because of the vastness of his work, his broad social interests and his receptiveness to new ideas, it is natural to expect to find in the works of Pérez Galdós the most complete treatment of the child in nineteenth century Spanish literature. It is true that with him the movement does assume very broad proportions. Analysis of his true-to-life



child characters reveals that his success in their portrayal is due to his genuine interest in children, his remarkable knowledge of child psychology, and most important of all, his fantasia, or ability to invent situations and give life to his personages.

## NOTES

1. Marcel Braunschvig, "L'enfant au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle," Pages libres, II, 29 Août, Paris, 1903, pp. 169-184.
2. Plutarch's Lives, trans. John Langhorne and William Langhorne, 5th ed., V. I, London, 1792, p. 308.
3. Harold Whetstone Johnston, The Private Life of the Romans, Chicago, 1902, pp. 11-72.
4. Ibid., p. 68.
5. Ibid., p. 71.
6. Ibid., p. 72.
7. Horace E. Scudder, Childhood in Literature and Art, New York, 1895, pp. 42-43.
8. Ibid., pp. 47-48.
9. Everybody's Papyrus: The Diary of Samuel Papyrus 1800-1869, ed. O. Morshead, New York, 1926, p. 93.
10. Ibid., p. 141.
11. Ibid., pp. 177-78.
12. F. Delattre, "La littérature enfantine en Angleterre," Revue pédagogique, 15 Août 1907, p. 103.
13. Ibid., p. 103.
14. Ibid., p. 102.
15. Ibid., pp. 101-102.
16. Ibid., p. 110.
17. Ibid., p. 113.
18. Ibid., pp. 117-118.

19. Braunschvig, p. 170.
20. Ibid., p. 170.
21. Ibid., p. 181.
22. Ibid., p. 181.
23. Jean de La Bruyère, Les caractères ou Les mœurs de ce siècle, T. II, Paris, 1854, p. 62.
24. Braunschvig, p. 171.
25. M. de Chateaubriand, Souvenirs d'enfance et de jeunesse, Paris, 1874, p. 129.
26. Marius-Ary Leblond, La société française sous la troisième république, Paris, 1905, p. 2.
27. Marius-Ary Leblond, L'idéal du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle, Paris, 1909, p. 271.
28. Braunschvig, p. 182.
29. Ibid., p. 183.
30. Marcel Braunschvig, "La literatura infantil," de la obra El arte y el niño: ensayo de educación estética, trans. P. Blanco Suárez, El boletín de la institución libre de enseñanza, V. XXXVII-XXXVIII, Madrid, 1914, p. 263.
31. Braunschvig, Literatura, p. 264.
32. Oeuvres complètes illustrées de Anatole France, T. III, Paris, 1925, p. 396.
33. Braunschvig, Literatura, p. 265.
34. Leblond, La société, p. 1.
35. Edouard Maynial, "Les romans de l'enfance et les confessions féminines," Chronique des lettres françaises,

I, April, 1923, p. 319.

36. Leblond, La société, p. 4.
37. M. de la Revilla, "La emancipación del niño," La revista contemporánea, V. XVI, 30 de julio, 1878, p. 130.
38. Poema de Mío Cid, ed. R.Menéndez Pidal, Madrid, 1923, p. 78.
39. Cantar de Mío Cid, ed. R.Menéndez Pidal, V.III, Madrid, 1911, p. 917.
40. George Ticknor, History of Spanish Literature, 2nd ed., V.I, New York, 1854, p. 39.
41. La danza de la muerte, in BAE, V.LVII, Madrid, 1864, p. 379.
42. Poema de José, in BAE, V.LVII, Madrid, 1864, p. 413.
43. Cancionero de Gómez Manrique, ed. D.Antonio Paz y Mélia, T.I, p. 30.
44. Ibid., p. 97.
45. Ibid., p. 206.
46. Propalladia and Other Works of Bartolomé de Torres Naharro, ed. J.E. Gillet, Bryn Mawr:Pennsylvania, 1946, p. 401.
47. Lope de Rueda, in Clásicos castellanos, V.LIX, pp. 261-69.
48. Juan de Timoneda, Turiana: Colección de comedias y far-  
sas reproducida en facsímile por La Academia Española,  
Madrid, 1936. Pages not numbered.
49. Escritos de Santa Teresa, in BAE, V.LIII, Madrid, 1877,  
p. 24.
50. Ibid., p. 24.

51. José María March, Niñez y juventud de Felipe II: documentos inéditos sobre su educación civil literaria y religiosa y su iniciación al gobierno (1527-1547), V. I, Madrid, 1941, p. 46.
52. M. Gachard, Lettres de Philippe II a ses filles les infantes Isabelle et Catherine écrites pendant son voyage en Portugal (1581-1583), Paris, 1884, pp. 62-65.
53. Ibid., p. 124.
54. La vida de Lazarillo de Tormes, ed. R. Foulche-Delbosc, Madrid, 1900, p. 3.
55. Ludwig Pfandl, Spanische Kultur und Sitte des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts: eine Einführung in die Blütezeit der spanischen Literatur und Kunst, Germany, 1924, p. 71.
56. Ticknor, V. II, p. 33.
57. Obras completas de Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, ed. Rodolfo Schevill y Adolfo Bonilla, V. V., Madrid, 1920, pp. 182-201.
58. El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha compuesto por Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, in Clásicos castellanos, V. XIII, Madrid, 1935, p. 77.
59. Ticknor, V. II, p. 228.
60. Canción a la muerte de Carlos Félix, in BAE, V. XXXVIII, Madrid, 1858, pp. 368-69.
61. Epístola 334. Al doctor Matías de Porras, in BAE, V. XXXVIII, Madrid, 1858, p. 409.
62. Poesías líricas de Lope de Vega, in Clásicos castellanos, V. LXXV, Madrid, 1926, pp. 54-57.

63. Clásicos castellanos, V. LXXV, Madrid, 1926, p. 176.
64. Luis Vélez de Guevara, in BAE, V. XLV, Madrid, 1881, pp. 106-107.
65. Ticknor, V. III, p. 241.
66. Sainetes de Don Ramón de la Cruz: Colección ordenado por D. Emilio Cortarelo y Mori, T.I, Madrid, 1915, p. 295.
67. Torres Villarroel. Vida, in Clásicos castellanos, V.VII, Madrid, 1912, p. 28.
68. Ibid., p. 29.
69. José Iglesias de la Casa, in BAE, V. LXI, Madrid, 1869, p. 437.
70. Ibid., p. 438.
71. Ángel Salcedo Ruiz, La literatura española: el clasicismo, T.III, Madrid, 1916, p. 175.
72. Ticknor, V. III, p. 280.
73. José de Somoza, in BAE, V. LXVII, Madrid, 1875, pp. 465-66, 467.
74. Ibid., pp. 455-66.
75. Alberto Lista, in BAE, V. LXVII, Madrid, 1875, pp. 281-82.
76. Leandro de Moratín, El sí de las niñas, Clásicos castellanos, V. LVIII, Madrid, 1924, pp. 167-302.
77. Ticknor, V. III, p. 288.
78. Meléndez Valdés, in BAE, V. LXIII, Madrid, 1871, p. 97.
79. Ibid., p. 104.
80. Ibid., p. 122.
81. Ibid., p. 134.

82. Ibid., p. 148.
83. Galdós, Fortunata y Jacinta, I, Madrid, 1915, pp. 17-19.
84. Braunschvig, L'enfant au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle, pp. 180-81.
85. Spain: A Companion to Spanish Studies, ed. E. Allison Peers, 4th ed., London, 1948, pp. 164-67.
86. Obras completas de D. Ángel de Saavedra Duque de Rivas, T. III, Madrid, 1897, pp. 5-9.
87. Ibid., p. 10.
88. D. Ramón Mesonero Romanos, Escenas matritenses, Madrid, 1881, p. 18.
89. Ibid., p. 121.
90. Ibid., p. 149.
91. Obras de D. José Zorrilla, Paris, n.d., p. xx.
92. Ibid., p. 187.
93. Ramón de Campoamor, in Clásicos castellanos, V. XL, Madrid, 1943, p. 45.
94. P. Francisco Blanco García, La literatura española en el siglo XIX: parte segunda, 2nd ed., Madrid, 1903, p. 293.
95. Ibid., p. 128.
96. Luis Antón del Olmet y A. García Carraffa, Los grandes españoles: Galdós, I, Madrid, 1912, p. 28.
97. J.B. Trend, The Origins of Modern Spain, New York, 1934, p. 44.
98. Blanco García, p. 470.
99. Galdós, Memoranda, Madrid, 1906, p. 175.
100. D. Ramón de Mesonero Romanos, Memorias de un setentón, V.I, Madrid, 1881, p. 71.
101. Obras completas de D. José M. de Pereda, T.IX, Madrid, 1894, p. 12.
102. Emilia Perdo Bazán, Los pazos de Ulloa, Madrid, n.d., p. 17.

## CHAPTER II

### THE JUVENILE DELINQUENT

Galdós' child world was as vast and varied in character as his adult world. Through this world moved the happy, normal child, the orphan, the sub-normal, the super-bright, the juvenile delinquent, the pícaro, the child monster - in short, children of every imaginable, and some of an almost unimaginable type. These Galdós studied with his observant, kindly eye and with an understanding not too much aided by the scanty psychological knowledge of his time.

In this chapter, THE CHILD DELINQUENT, one of Galdós' most completely developed child characters, Mariano Rufete of La desheredada, is studied. The aim is to study Galdós' scientific attitude toward the problem of delinquency and to compare his findings with those of later psychologists. The novel was written at the beginning of what Casaldueiro terms Galdós' "período naturalista" (1881-85)<sup>1</sup> and the symbolic nickname Pecado given the boy identifies him with that background. From the completeness of the treatment it would seem that Galdós was particularly interested in the type of child mentality which Mariano represented, for in addition to creating a literary figure, he thoroughly investigated the child in order to better understand the problem he presented. Galdós studied Mariano from all possible "outside" angles, and then explored the boy's own mind - a procedure



thoroughly in accord with modern psychological investigations.<sup>2</sup>

Galdós was keenly aware that the biography of the child is the foundation of adult behavior, as he stated three years later in La de Brindas,<sup>3</sup> and that the novel presented a magnificent field for its study. This impression may have been strengthened by a knowledge of Hippolyte Taine's De l'intelligence written in 1869 and in which this paragraph occurs: "On s'aperçoit que, pour comprendre les transformations que subit telle molécule humaine ou tel groupe de molécules humaines, il faut en faire la psychologie... Tout historien perspicace et philosophe travaille à celle d'un individu, d'un groupe, d'un siècle, d'un peuple ou d'une race; les recherches des linguistes, des mythologues, des ethnographes n'ont pas d'autre but; il s'agit toujours de décrire une âme humaine ou les traits communs à un groupe naturel d'âmes humaines; et, ce que les historiens font sur le passé, les grands romanciers et dramatises font sur le présent."<sup>4</sup>

A knowledge of child psychology as a science was, however, still in its veriest infancy at the time of Galdós' greatest production. James Sully, English psychologist shows this when he wrote in a Preface dated December, 1891: "One department of this external investigation of mind requires specific mention, viz., that which has recently come to be called Infant Psychology, and which is concerned with the

careful and methodical observation of the first manifestations of mind in the human individual. This line of inquiry is especially valuable as bringing us face to face with a much simpler state of things than we meet with when we observe our own developed minds. The careful objective observation of the early stages of individual mental development is now coming to be recognized as an essential condition of any adequate scientific theory of the nature and laws of this process. And though this sphere of observation has only just begun to be taken possession of by the psychologist, the results already reached are full of promise."<sup>5</sup> Galdós, with his own advanced methods of "careful and methodical observation" of children, had made the important psychological investigation of the young criminal Mariano ten years before Sully's remarks were written.

Interest in childhood itself had sprung up in France about one hundred and fifty years before when Pinel, in France, had humanized the care of the insane. The modern psychologist, Gardner Murphy, says that as the result of the psycho-analytical invasion there arose "a preoccupation with the earlier years of childhood and their influence upon later behavior and personality development... which help to give the present child guidance movement individuality."<sup>6</sup> Of course the interest in the study of personality during the nineteenth century had been greatly

stimulated by the evolutionary theory and the Romantic movement in literature, but although it is well known that Galdós spent long hours in the libraries and was very familiar with European literatures, enough experiments had not been made nor had enough scientific material dealing with child psychology been published, to give him the background necessary for his study of the various juvenile types.

Galdós' study of the juvenile delinquent in La desheredada is, therefore, remarkable, because, as will be seen, his methods are modern and his analysis in accord with later psychological information. Close observation of actual cases must have accounted in part for the reality of Galdós' figures in this novel. This observation may have been supplemented somewhat by memories of his own childhood, although the German psychologist Preyer called attention to the fact that the memory of adults does not extend farther back than the fourth year of life.<sup>7</sup> As Sully wrote, "In going over bygone years we only recall a very few events, and these but indistinctly... The further off the time recalled, the fewer are the images of events revived... Thus in recalling a year of early life we represent at most, perhaps, the circumstance of our being in school at the time."<sup>8</sup> Galdós himself recognized that childhood impressions are clearer cut at a later age when he says of the thoughts of Isidora of La desheredada, "De golpe entraron en la mente de Isidora ideas mil y recuerdos de una época en que la infancia

se confundía con la adolescencia..."<sup>9</sup> It is very difficult also for the matured human being to place himself in thought in the condition of a child that has had few experiences. The reality of the life-like Mariano is therefore a triumph of the Galdós artistic ability to create and invent.

A series of proposals concerning the practical investigation of problems of school children had been carried on as early as 1896 by the American Psychological Association, and research had been instituted by other countries, but it was not until 1907 that the basic ideas of Witmer, the originator of clinical psychology, began to be published.<sup>10</sup> This was some twenty-six years after the publication of La desheredada, in which Galdós, whether he knew or used the technical terms or not, appeared as a clinical psychologist, and realized that his work was closely connected with other major fields in psychology, medicine, education and sociology. Clinical psychology has been defined as "a form of applied psychology which aims to define the behavior capacities and behavior characteristics of an individual through methods of measurement, analysis, and observation; and which, on the basis of an integration of these findings with data received from the physical examinations and social histories, gives suggestions and recommendations for the proper adjustment of the individual."<sup>11</sup> In the child world of La desheredada Galdós definitely limits himself to the behavioral problems of children, and to those of Mariano Rufete in particular.

Although Mariano is a secondary character and on the first reading of La desheredada he attracts interest mainly because of his connection with his older sister, Isidora, careful notice discloses that the psychological case-study of this boy is completely and perfectly brought to its conclusion.

Since Galdós was primarily a novelist of city life, the problems which confront the children are those which arise wherever people are closely massed together, in Madrid as elsewhere, and Galdós shows that under-privileged children, encouraged by public apathy, spent their leisure time on the streets. That Galdós' fictions are based on solid reality is shown by socially minded M. de la Revilla who wrote in 1878, "Todos nuestros lectores habrán visto, quizá con indiferencia, pulular por las calles y plazas la turba de los que con desprecio apellidamos pilluelos vagabundos. Dedicados unos a industrias y comercios de escasa valía, como la expendición de periódicos, fósforos, billetes de loterías y rifas, etc; entregados otros a la mendicidad, a la vagancia y al robo; privados en absoluto de instrucción y educación; huérfanos o abandonados por sus padres; sacrificados muchas veces a las necesidades de éstos, que los explotan de diversas maneras, ora obligándoles a acompañarles en el ejercicio de la mendicidad, ora alquilándolos para usos semejantes; mal alimentados, peor vestidos, golpeados brutalmente a cada paso, sin hogar muchas veces, sin cariño siempre, educados en el

vicio, rodeados de ejemplos perniciosos y malas compañías, esos infelices carecen por completo de las condiciones necesarias para usar debidamente de su libertad. Mejor dicho, no son libres porque no pueden serlo; porque a la herencia sólo deben el instinto del mal; a la familia el mal ejemplo y el abandono; a la sociedad la enemiga y el desprecio."<sup>12</sup>

The word delincuente, actually applied to Mariano,<sup>13</sup> and used in reference to him by the Galdós character Muñoz y Nones who is interested in penitentiaries for delinquents,<sup>14</sup> is used by Galdós in reference to other child characters. In Doña Perfecta Librada, "esa muchacha", appeared, "su semblante pálido indicaba la consternación y el recelo del delincuente";<sup>15</sup> in Fortunata y Jacinta "el delincuente" is used in reference to the young Santa Cruz<sup>16</sup> and to the naughty little Pituña;<sup>17</sup> and in Miau, "Pronto se descubrió que el principal delincuente era el maligno Posturitas."<sup>18</sup> The child, however, who is, or is becoming, an actual menace to society is examined by Galdós in La desheredada. Having studied his subject well, he formulated his own definition of the child delinquent. Referring to Mariano, Galdós writes: "El ejercicio de la vida independiente le dio cierto vigor de voluntad, que es propio de los vagos; aguzó su ingenio, precipitó su ingenio, precipitó su desarrollo intelectual. Conviene estudiar bien el vago para comprender que es un ser caracterizado por el desarrollo prematuro de la adquisitividad, del disimulo y de la adaptación. No se explican

de otro modo la gran precocidad ni los rasgos geniales que son desesperación de la Policía y espanto de la sociedad, es un prodigio de agudeza, un archivo de triquiñuelas jurídicas y un burlador hábil de la Policía. El vago adolescente, otra manera de salvaje, sabe más mundo y más Economía política que los doctores recién incubados en la Universidad." <sup>19</sup>

The psychologist, however, in studying the child delinquent takes a very different point of view from that of the policeman. Galdós is not primarily interested in the investigation of the crime, but in the investigation of the young criminal. His aim was to study the individual and his case study of Mariano follows in outline the methods by which such study has been accomplished in later years by modern psychologists such as C.M. Louttit whose Clinical Psychology of Behavior Problems of Children deals with just such types and whose work has been used in this study as a basis of comparison. In most cases, the examiner starts dealing with the individual after his last offense. He must reconstruct, with as much detail as possible, the child's own feeling and the conditions of the incident, and, to promote understanding, assemble as much material as he can concerning the past history of the delinquent. Galdós has chosen to start his story of Mariano before the commission of the crime, but the methods used are the same. As an examiner's ability is usually limited, it is necessary to secure behavior pictures from parents, teachers and others.

The first knowledge of Mariano's background comes from his sister Isidora. She refers to their insane father's love for them when they were little, "Fuimos tan mimados cuando éramos niños! Nos hacía el gusto en todo, y como entonces mandaba el partido, y él tenía una buena colocación...vivíamos muy bien. En aquella época Rufete puso nuestra casa con mucho lujo, con un lujo..."<sup>20</sup>

It is not until much later in the story, and after a talk with Muñoz y Nones, that Isidora begins to see her father in his true light. Señor Muñoz had said, "Su padre de usted, Tomás Rufete, era un hombre ligero de costumbres desordenadas."<sup>21</sup> In her heart, Isidora agrees, and gives us this picture of her father, "Sí, sí, Tomás Rufete era un hombre desordenado, un hombre de insaciables apetitos y devorado por la invidia..."<sup>22</sup>

These deterministic factors which will shed some light on Mariano's attitude and behavior continue to be amassed by Galdós for this home was early broken up. The mother died, the father lost his mind, the older sister, Isidora, went to live with a relative "bastante acomodado" in La Mancha, while the little brother, Mariano, remained in Madrid with an aunt of the mother. Into this brief description Galdós has gathered all the elements necessary for the formation of the perfect type of child delinquent: the unstable mental background of the father, the early ideas of luxury, and the broken home with the separation of the



family and consequent loss of the feeling of security.

Unhappily, as with many real cases, the pedigree of this delinquent is incomplete. Even had Galdós provided a wealth of detail concerning the child's father and mother, the study of the parents is not enough, since it may be that mental and physical traits may skip a generation. But Galdós provided other relatives, Mariano's aunt, La Sanguijuelera, and Isidora, who shed some light on the family stock. Thus in Mariano's family it is known that a weakness existed which, though not in itself a tendency to crime, might favor such a tendency. Too, the whole question of delinquency is intricately bound up with the home and environment. If Mariano could remember his early luxurious home and the father who catered to his every whim, the brutal contrast of his present home environment must have often impressed itself on his mind. In a study made by George Ordahl during Galdós' lifetime, seventy percent of the delinquent children at the state school in Whittier, California, gave histories of broken homes, due to the death of one or more parents and to other reasons.<sup>23</sup> Galdós is considering, as would the real clinical psychologist, the many aspects necessary to form a true picture of the child - his family, early development, socio-economic condition and the like. The assembling of all this material is to afford an understanding of the individual.

Mariano's neighborhood is realistically described by Galdós as Isidora makes her way through it on her way to the aunt's home to see Mariano. The home was in "uno de los barrios más excentricos de Madrid",<sup>24</sup> a slum district in which the inevitable "multitud de niños casi desnudos jugaban en el fango, amasándolo para hacer bolas y otros divertimientos."<sup>25</sup> The most obvious condition obtaining, of course, was that of extreme poverty, and poverty itself is known to be an added spur to dishonesty and wrong doing.

La Sanguinolera's niece had married Rufete (Mariano's father) "...resultando de esta unión una desgraciada familia y el violentísimo odio que la Sanguinolera profesaba a todos los Rufetes nacidos y por nacer."<sup>26</sup> She now has charge of Mariano and while it is only natural that a second mother be more impatient than the real mother, la Sanguinolera's attitude is actively hostile. This could not but have its damaging effect on Mariano's outlook upon social relations as a whole. Since the boy is the only child with the aunt, he also lacked the most natural check against lawless behavior - that of demanding and reporting little brothers and sisters. The psychologist Galdós continues to draw information about Mariano from the aunt before the boy ever appears on the scene. In response to Isidora's inquiry for him, the aunt answers: "Está en el trabajo... Le he puesto a trabajar. ¡Hija, si me comía un carcañal!... Es más malo que Anás y Caifás juntos. No puedo hacer carrera de él. ¡Vaya,

que ha salido una pieza columnaria!... Yo le llamo Pecado, porque parece que vino al mundo por obra y gracia del demonio. Me tiene asada el alma. ¿Sabes dónde está? Pues le puse en la fábrica de sogas de ese que llaman Diente, ¿estás? y me trae dieciocho reales todas las semanas..."<sup>27</sup>

Quite evidently the aunt deserves her nickname and she has been prompt in bestowing one upon the boy in her charge.

Pecado is a name seemingly meant to reduce what little self-esteem Mariano may have had, and to brand him among his companions.

Of the boy's schooling, these facts become clear. La Sanguinuelera had placed him in Los Herejes, an institution "donde dicen la misa por la tarde y el rosario por la mañana. Daban un panecillo a cada muchacho, y esto ayuda..."<sup>28</sup>

Failing to appreciate this atmosphere, Mariano had played truant so often that the aunt had placed him in Los Católicos. When the same story was repeated, she set him to work, for, as she says, "no están los tiempos para mimos."<sup>29</sup>

School usually ranks as an important factor in governing the growth of behavior patterning. This influence was denied Mariano partly because of his own rebellious nature and partly because of his aunt's cupidity and her attitude toward all Rufetes "nacidos y por nacer." As is seen later, Pecado has, however, learned to read and write during his brief school experience.<sup>30</sup> One surmises that his truancy developed because of the uncongenial schools. Calde's shows

that the rapidly growing boy sometimes comes to feel an overpowering aversion towards school; he dreads being shut up indoors and the strain of sitting over lessons for which he has neither taste nor ability proves too much for him.

Galdós next describes the miserable dark and gloomy mill where the thirteen year old child is doing brutally hard work. At noon when the work finally stops, Pecado appears. He is briefly described as being "un muchacho hermoso y robusto."<sup>31</sup> Isidora, while admiring his slender figure and the strength of his arms, is pained to note his air of weariness, the perspiration, and the redness of his face. The eagle eye of La Sanguijuelera, however, has seen that he has broken his shoes, and she breaks into a torrent of abuse. She refers to him as "Holofernes", and "gañán" while "examinándole la ropa con tanta severidad como un juez que interroga al criminal ante el cuerpo del delito."<sup>32</sup> Later as Pecado "devoraba con el apetito insaciable de una bestia atada al pesebre, después de un día de atroz trabajo",<sup>33</sup> his aunt complained bitterly of his appetite. Like hunger-driven literary píccaros before him, it is quite possible that Mariano never had enough to eat and that Galdós realized that of the various ways in which poverty may encourage crime, hunger is the most immediate.

The study of a child's environment does not end with the study of his home. Perhaps the character of the street and the neighborhood in which the child lives may be as im-

portant as his home or his school. One of the commonest explanations offered for the wrong-doing of a child is the influence of bad companions. This fact is also emphasized by Galdós in the story of another youngster: "Pero lo que más contribuyo' a extraviarle, decidiendo al mismo tiempo su caracter definitivo e influyendo hondamente en el resto de su vida, fueron las amistades que contrajo en aquella ciudad."<sup>34</sup> It is this side which Galdós next investigates in his case study of Mariano. A neighboring family, the Modesto Ricos, had a ten-year-old boy who was "el más gracioso, el más esbelto, el más engañador y salado que en el barrio había."<sup>35</sup> This was Rafael, better known as el Majito. One Sunday when Mariano had been forced to return to work,<sup>36</sup> el Majito went to Pecado's living quarters in the back of la Sanguinuelera's shop and in an insect-ridden, dark and dusty corner, found Pecado's cherished toys. For the light which they may throw on Mariano's character, Galdós, the psychologist, notes carefully the contents of the pile. "... objetos de cartón, de cuero, de metal, algo como mochilas, bayonetas, cartucheras, trozos de arreos militares, desechados por inútiles en la liquidación de un bazar de juguetes."<sup>37</sup> From the pile el Majito unerringly selects Pecado's most loved possessions: a Spanish shako "un sombrero que parecía escudilla, un ros de cartón, deforme cuarteado, pero con tres tiras de papel dorado pegadas en redondo. El Majito que tan poco sabía del mundo, sabía que los tres en-

torchados son la insignia del capitán general, y que ésta es la jerarquía más alta del ejército", <sup>38</sup> and a sword which Pecado himself had made. "Era un palito pinchante amarrado a una empuñadura de metal, que en su origen parecía haber sido asa de un brasero de cobre."<sup>39</sup>

Overlooking no detail in his study of Mariano, Galdós examines the sword closely and makes note of an ability, which, had it been skillfully developed by wise guidance, might have saved the boy and given him a livelihood. "Había en la prenda militar una fabricación tosca, pero ingeniosa, que denotaba tanta habilidad como falta de medios. Autor y dueño de aquellos arreos era, como se habrá comprendido, el famoso Pecado, gran amigo de cosas de guerra, y que desde su tierna infancia se mostraba muy precoz para las artes mecánicas. El aprendaba, no se sabe dónde, aunque es de presumir que fuera en sus viajes por las Américas, restos de juguetes, pedazos de hojalata, de nádena, de hierro; y con un clavo viejo, una cuerda, una navaja rota, y un enorme guijarro que servía de martillo y de piedra de afilar, hacía maravillas."<sup>40</sup>

El Niño donned the hat and sword and betook himself to the street shouting, "Soy Plin." At this point Galdós, the careful and impersonal observer, makes an exclamation which reveals how close he was in spirit to the characters he was describing, and his depth of understanding of their instinct for hero worship. "¡Ser Prim! Ilusión de los hijos

del pueblo en los primeros albores de la ambición, cuando los instintos de gloria comienzan a despuntar en el alma ... Esta ilusión, que era entonces común en las turbas infantiles, ... se va extinguiendo ya conforme se desvanece aquella energica figura. Pero aún hoy persiste algo de tan bella ilusión; aun se ven zamacucos de cinco años, con un palo al hombro y una gorra de papel en la cabeza, que quieren ser Prim o ser O'Donnell."<sup>41</sup> Galdós looked upon this childish play and found it good, for he says, "¡Lástima grande que esto se acabe, y que los chicos que juegan al valor no pueden invocar otros nombres que los gárrulos motes de los toreros!"<sup>42</sup>

El Majito rushes out into the street to show off his plunder for this is the means Galdós has chosen to introduce all the other companions of Pecado. These children have their important place in the boy's life - they are important to the child at all ages and they may be the immediate reason for misconduct. According to Louttit, probably not more than twenty percent of juvenile delinquents engage in their anti-social behavior while alone. He says in regard to the possibility of correcting behavior deviations, "When dealing with primary behavior problems... it is always necessary to investigate experiences in the child's past history and his present living conditions because the problem he presents must be rooted in his experiential history."<sup>43</sup>

And so it is seen that out in the street there was a formidable array of children. Joining the band of six in Er-cilla street and the seventeen in Labrador, came the three children of the foreman of the iron foundry, then the two children of the storekeeper. The latter, whom Galdós labels as "enemigos del género humano" were small and incredibly filthy. As the swollen ranks emptied into the plaza de las Peñuelas, more joined them. The two grandsons of la tía Gordita, the four children of the baker, those of the dentist, and many others. "Mayor variedad de aspectos y de facha en la unidad de la inocencia picaresca no se ha visto jamás. Había caras lívidas y rostros siniestros entre la muchedumbre de semblantes alegres. El raquitismo heredado marcaba con su sello amarillo multitud de cabezas, inscribiendo la predestinación del crimen. Los cráneos achatados, los pómulos cubiertos de granulaciones y el pelo ralo, ponían una máscara de antipatía sobre las siempre interesantes facciones de la niñez."<sup>44</sup>

As D. Ramón Cala's study of children shows, "los filósofos y gobernantes se ocupan mucho de los hombres, pero muy poco de los niños. Y sin embargo los niños de hoy han de ser los hombres de mañana."<sup>45</sup> The unsupervised play activities of these restless children "desertores más bien que alumnos de la escuela"<sup>46</sup> are minutely described in the next ten pages of the novel. In the homes of these children there was probably little, if any, facility for indoor oc-



cupation or amusement. The small axotea or tiny garden may have been used for fowls, or the hanging out of washings. At any rate the regular playground of these children was the street, and it is in the street that the chief opportunities present themselves for the little misdemeanors of the young. Galdós well shows that the age of childhood is the age of play. A child needs an outlet for his boisterous spirits, but in the streets his play becomes a nuisance, he is directly enticed to theft, and he is afforded the worst sort of training for his future citizenship. In Tolosa Latour's prophetic words, "Más tarde el crimen les abrirá las puertas de ese aterrador cementerio de la honradez llamado presidio ..."<sup>47</sup> Then, too, there is the constant succession of excitants such as these little children in Galdós' novel are experiencing. They have played at military organization, with el Majito proud of his exalted position; they have defied a passing train for "la miseria se familiariza con el peligro como con un pariente"<sup>48</sup> since "with man also, it is, on the one hand, ignorance of danger, on the other hand, the becoming accustomed to it, that makes him fearless",<sup>49</sup> and now the multitud has passed beyond the crowded houses, and discord has reared its ugly head among the ranks. "Había llegado el momento en que la partida necesitaba hacer algo para justificar su existencia."<sup>50</sup>

The scene which follows is so vividly real and true to life that it recalls Mesonero Romanos' words regarding

Galdós' ability to create characters and situations. "... me ha causado la mayor complacencia, admirando (lo digo con franqueza) la poderosa inventiva de usted, la sagacidad y destreza para continuar en los términos más brillantes el desarrollo de su drama... Es una especialidad en que no tiene usted rival... estoy en el caso de apreciar la inmensa fuerza de intuición con que usted con su clarísimo ingenio, se hace dueño de situaciones, caracteres..."<sup>51</sup> Leopoldo Alas perfectly expresses the impression of reality the child characters give. "Gran maestro ha sido siempre Galdós en el arte del diálogo; siempre ha sabido dar a cada personaje el estilo propio de su carácter y de su estado; pero ahora que las dificultades en este punto eran mayores, el esfuerzo para vencerlas ha hecho al ilustre novelista extremar su habilidad. ¡Cómo habla la Sanguijuelera! ¡Cómo habla Pecado!"<sup>52</sup>

Up from the river come Zarapicos and Gonzalete, two younger counterparts of Rinconete y Cortadillo, with their arms full of a river cane which they will sell to the children for pins. To buy these canes some children home to get money of their mothers, "y les quitaban la moneda o se la robaban."<sup>53</sup> This stealing by those probably mentally and physically normal may simply mirror the behavior pattern of the home and neighborhood from which they come and is a detail Galdós uses to strengthen the impression of the unwholesome environment of Mariano's neighborhood.

The little Majito had long since lost his cap to Zarapicos and in the melee which followed, the children, without orders, formed two bands to fight. Stones were flying and blood was running when Pecado suddenly appeared. It is at this point that Galdós has chosen to reveal that Mariano is the leader of this neighborhood gang. He is "el gallito del barrio, el perdonavidas de la partida, capitán de gorriónes, bandolero mayor de aquellos reinos de la granujería, angelón respetado y temido por su fuerza casi varonil, por su descaro, por su destreza en artes guerreras y de juego. Así no hubo en el cotorro uno solo que no temblara al oírle gritar: "¡Estarvun quietos..., vos voy a reventar!"<sup>54</sup> Physical strength is the usual characteristic of a leader of boys' gangs, and Pecado's superiority was based on force "de donde venía la justicia, es decir, que solía dirimir contiendas de chicos, unas veces a trompada limpia y otras con atinadas y comedidas razones, aunque todo hace creer que el primer argumento era el que con más frecuencia usaba."<sup>55</sup>

In the fierce struggle which ensued between Pecado and Zarapicos for possession of the hat, Pecado, infuriated past reason and blinded by passion, draws his knife and fells Zarapicos with his first blow. Instantly the children understand that this is not play. Pecado throws the knife away, and prompted by instinct, flees.

Mariano is the first of the two Galdós child charac-

ters who cause the death of other persons. In El doctor Centeno a small boy accidentally causes the death of a woman,<sup>56</sup> but Mariano's case is of a different order. Murder is a rare offense for a child of school age, but no crime exists as a detached fact; it is a mental symptom with a mental origin. It is, therefore, a case for scientific investigation. It was as such that Galdós viewed it. Mariano's conduct is the result of a long and complicated process of development; and his present predicament only the result of converging forces operating cumulatively throughout his life. The sudden sharp murderous passion felt by Mariano had a literary precedent in that felt by Balzac's eight-year-old Helene Aiglement who pushed her four-year-old brother into the Bièvre where he drowned,<sup>57</sup> but Galdós, having placed the child in the situation, takes a psychologist's keen interest in the mental reactions of the little murderer and makes the most of his opportunity to chart the mental processes of the terrified boy.

Having scaled a wall, Mariano is trying to hide in an angle to escape his pursuers and the threats and imprecations they are hurling at him. Characteristically Galdós throws into this pitiful picture a little ray of hope for the future. This desolate spot may sometime encourage education instead of crime. "La Guardia Civil, que tiene su puesto en la calle del Labrador, se puso en movimiento; y hasta el señor concejal y un comisario de Beneficiencia, que a la sazón paseaban por el barrio eligiendo sitio para el

emplazamiento de una escuela, corrieron al lugar."<sup>58</sup> Galdós' remarkable insight gives him a clear understanding of the boy's criminal mind. "...el alma de Pecado se componía de orgullo y rebeldía. Su maldad era todavía una forma especial del valor pueril, de esa arrogancia tonta que consiste en querer ser el primero. El estado casi salvaje en que aquella arrogancia crecía, trájole a tal extremo. De esta manera, un muñeco abandonado a sus instintos llega a probar el licor amargo de la maldad y a saborearlo con infernal delicia."<sup>59</sup> In the description of this child tragedy, the precise observation of the clinical psychologist combines with the artistry of the novelist to produce a very effective picture. "...cuando se vio amenazado por tantas manos e injuriado por tantas lenguas, desde la provocativa de las mujeres hasta la severa y comedida del guardia civil; cuando noto' la saña con que le perseguía la muchedumbre, en quien de una manera confusa entreveía la imagen de la sociedad ofendida, sintió que nacían serpientes mil en su pecho, se considero' menos niño, más hombre, y aun llegó a regocijarse del crimen cometido. Cosas tan tremendas como desconocidas para él hasta entonces, la venganza, la protesta, la rebelión, la terquedad de no reconocerse culpable, penetraron en su alma."<sup>60</sup>

When Mariano is afraid the guards may fire upon him "se achico' tanto, que volvió a ser niño y a tener miedo. Dirigió la mente a ciertas ideas confusas de su tierna

níñez; pero aquellas ideas estaban tan borradas, tan lejanas, que poco o ningún alivio encontro' en ellas."<sup>61</sup> That this is psychologically sound is born out by Sully's conclusions that our representation of the past is only fragmentary.<sup>62</sup> The failure of Mariano's home and school training is clearly evident now, for he had nothing in his experience which was of any comfort to him in this moment. "De Dios no quedaba en él más que un nombre... Nada sabía, su tía le hablaba poco de Dios, y el maestro de escuela le había dicho sobre el mismo tema mil cosas huecas que nunca pudo comprender bien. Las nociones de su tía y las palabras del maestro se le habían olvidado con el penoso trabajo del taller de sogas y aquella vida errante de juegos, raterías, y miseria."<sup>63</sup> Confirming Galdós on this point, Cyril Burt's study of the delinquent says that "nothing is so startling about the juvenile delinquent as his extraordinary lack of knowledge: it is, with him and with his kind, more frequent and more profound than any other intellectual failing. He is ignorant alike in the narrower respect of the simpler scholastic subjects - reading, writing, and arithmetic - and in all the wider spheres of ordinary information and culture."<sup>64</sup>

Mariano could not but recognize his own guilt. "Era criminal, y sus perseguidores tenían razón en perseguirle, y aun en matarle atándole en un palo y estrangulándole. Esto le hizo estremecer de espanto, ¡a él que había visto

una y otra ejecución en el Campo de Guardias sin conmoverse!"<sup>65</sup> Yet this little monster was human and Galdós shows how he could have been controlled. "A Pecado se le conquistaba fácilmente con un poco de mimo y otro poco de esa adulación que algunos chicos manejan como nadie, le tenía por suyo. Pero de ningún modo se le conquistaba con la fuerza."<sup>66</sup> So it was that the guard who laid down his gun and offered Pecado two oranges, was able to capture him.

M. de Revilla asked of a similar, real case, "¿Que' hacen la sociedad y el Estado en estos casos? ¿Prevenir? No. ¿Remediar? Tampoco. Castigar. Si el niño vagabundo, excitado por sus padres, aguijoneado por la necesidad o pervertido por malos compañeros, comete un delito, sobre él cae al punto el rigor de la ley. ¡Justicia inicua, por cierto! Si no ha dado educación a esta infeliz criatura, si por mal entendido respeto a la autoridad paterna la habéis dejado criar en el abandono y aleccionar en el vicio, ¿por que la consideráis culpable? ¿Dónde está en ese criminal precoz la responsabilidad moral? ¿Quién le enseñó a distinguir lo bueno de lo malo?"<sup>67</sup> These observations are well illustrated in the case of Mariano.

Social changes have been rapid in the last few years, and Cyril Burt reminds that "it is hard to realize that, until a few years ago, between two and three thousand children under the age of sixteen were annually consigned to prison; and that, less than a century ago, they were not

only forced to await their trial in the common jail, but were liable to be sentenced to death or transportation for petty offenses that to-day would hardly be thought to warrant a fine."<sup>68</sup> Special courts for dealing with children's cases are of recent origin, although it is reported<sup>69</sup> that Catherine II instituted "Courts of Conscience" in Russia during 1775 to hear cases of juvenile delinquents. Modern juvenile courts were instituted in South Australia by ministerial order in 1890 and several American states had provided for the separate hearing of children's cases. But in Madrid the old way prevailed, and Mariano was sent to jail. Three months later he was released to his sister on Christmas Eve. He returns "vergonzoso, y cohibido, bajaba los ojos delante de la gente."<sup>70</sup> The time spent in jail has hardened him and he has made rapid progress along the road of evil. All ways seemed closed to him. He is not allowed to sit at the same table with others, and all his worst instincts are aroused by the attitude of society and by his own extreme poverty. Galdós is showing here precisely what M. de la Revilla had described and expounded only two years earlier. "...la sociedad recoge siempre el fruto de su criminal indiferencia. En esos abismos se reclutan los bandidos y los perturbadores de mañana. Ese raterillo que la policía encierra en la prevención o en el patio de los Micos, no para corregirle y educarle, sino para hacer de él un criminal terrible, será mañana el secuestrador que pone espanto en



el ánimo de los propietarios, o el demagogo que pasea por las ciudades la desolación y el incendio. En otras condiciones hubiera sido un obrero honrado, un miembro útil de la sociedad."<sup>71</sup>

Galdós has recorded faithfully the usual attitude of society toward the delinquent child: "La Correspondencia recogió en el Juzgado de guardia nota del suceso...oyéronse las exclamaciones más ardientes sobre el estado moral e intelectual del país; se recordaron otros hechos análogos ocurridos antes en Madrid, Valencia y Málaga, y por último se declaró con unanimidad muy satisfactoria que era preciso hacer algo...y consagrar muchos ratos y no pocas pesetas a la curación del cuerpo social...formaron juntas... Tanta actividad, tanta charla, tanto proyecto de escuelas, de penitenciarias, de sistemas teóricos,...fueron cayendo en el olvido, como los juguetes del niño..."<sup>72</sup>

And Mariano? As Galdós wrote of an earlier unfortunate child, "Quien no sentía el lazo de ningún afecto; quien era rechazado por todos y no conocía los goces del hogar, no podía menos de sentir inclinación a la vida vagabunda."<sup>73</sup>

M. de la Revilla may have been thinking of Galdós when he wrote: "...cuando la conciencia y la libertad morales no existen en un individuo, no por culpa suya, sino por la calidad de la educación que ha recibido y del medio en que se halla colocado, es evidente que no es él el responsable de sus actos, sino los que no le proporcionaron (pudiendo hacerlo),

las condiciones necesarias para que se desarrollaran en él aquellas cualidades. Por esa razón no van del todo descaminados algunos escritores modernos al hacer responsable a la sociedad de las faltas de los ignorantes y de los miserables."<sup>74</sup>

Mariano's conduct goes from bad to worse. He threatens the sister who cannot command his respect, and demands money. After unlovely pictures like this, Galdós is able to bring back a feeling of tenderness for the boy. Once Mariano had fallen asleep in the middle of a conversation. "...

y se durmió sosegadamente. Todavía quedaba en él algo de niño. Su hermana le contempló un instante movida de un sentimiento extraño en que se combinaban el cariño y el terror."<sup>75</sup>

Like many others of his kind, Mariano was not entirely bad. "Tenía Mariano entre sus maldades, desarrolladas por el abandono, algunas cosas buenas, y la cualidad mejor era la franqueza con que confesaba sus delitos sin ocultar nada..."<sup>76</sup> Galdós here makes the modern psychological point that the "bad" boy or "bad" girl exists only in so far as society sets conventional standards of behavior to which the child does not conform.

Mariano is impressed by a theatrical representation and "en algunos días apareció como transformado, encendida la imaginación por las escenas que había visto representar, y manifestando vagas inclinaciones al heroísmo, a las acciones grandes y generosas. Contenta Isidora de esto, com-

prendió cuanto influye en la formación del carácter del hombre el ambiente que respira, las personas con quienes tiene roce, la ropa que viste y hasta el arte que disfruta y paladea."<sup>77</sup> Here Galdós pays tribute to the forces of environment. If this brief glimpse of better things could so influence Mariano, how would he have developed in another atmosphere? One in which decency and love, as well as good food, had played some part.

Finally there is the concrete case of the influence of a teacher on the child delinquent. Isidora, convinced that Mariano had some good and solid qualities, had finally succeeded in placing him in a "colegio de la calle de Valverde." By this time Mariano has learned to love the call of adventure from the streets, and, in addition, his pride is horribly mortified by the fact that much younger children are infinitely superior to him. "Era casi un hombre, y en todas las clases ocupaba el último lugar. Era el burro perpetuo, burla y mofa de los demás chicos."<sup>78</sup> This was a heavy load to bear, but the professor's attitude toward him was the last straw. "El maestro mismo, cargando sobre él todo el peso de su desdén pedagógico, solía decir, reprendiendo a cualquiera de los alumnos: 'Eso no se le ocurriría ni al mismo Rufete. Eres mas tonto que Rufete.'"<sup>79</sup> From the point of view of the child, the teacher represents the most important factor in his whole school life, and Galdós

is illustrating a very important psychological attitude which has great influence on a child's behavior. Thus, for Mariano, "la poca estimación que se le tenía mato en él sus escasos deseos de aprender. Concluyó por despreciar el colegio como el colegio le despreciaba a él, de donde vino su costumbre de hacer novillos, la cual aumentó de tal modo, que sin saberlo su hermana, dejó de asistir un mes entero al estudio."<sup>80</sup> Commonly, truancy is little thought of.

But as Galdós shows, and as is in actual fact, it is usually the first step on the downward stair of crime. The succeeding stages are self-evident. Lying must cover up the truancy, and having succeeded once, the second time is easier. As M. de la Revilla asked of like cases, "¿Cómo ha de nacer en esas almas la conciencia moral? ¿Por qué misterioso camino llega hasta ellos la voz del deber? ¿A qué se reducirá la libertad que se les reconoce para considerarlos responsables? ¿Cómo ha de ser posible que en tales consciencias prevalezca el deber sobre el apetito, la justicia sobre la pasión, el bien sobre el mal? Si así sucediera serían superiores a los santos; en caso contrario, ¿quién se atreverá a decir que son criminales?"<sup>81</sup> By his treatment of the story of Mariano, Galdós expresses this attitude.

Mariano rapidly descends to the very lowest level of vagabondage. He is absent for long periods of time. "En sus compañías, que al llegar al colegio fueron de niños decen-

tes, descendió poco a poco hasta el más bajo nivel, concluyendo por incorporarse a las turbas más compatibles con su fiereza y condición picaresca. Granujas de la peor estofa, aspirantes a puntilleros, toda clase de rapaces desvergonzados y miserables, formaban su pandilla."<sup>82</sup> Galdós shows that by the time society has allowed Mariano to reach this level it has lost its opportunity reach him by most decent means of appeal. His attitude has hardened into a scornful contempt for all possessors of property, for he has been led to believe by Isidora that he has been unlawfully dispossessed of his own rights.

When Isidora questioned him about a career, he answered readily that he wished to be rich and spend his money "en comer lomo, granadas, turrón, y en beber buen vino. Tendré un caballo y me vestiré todo de seda."<sup>83</sup> Galdós has made the boy reveal here that his behavior is easily traced to his efforts to satisfy his needs for security, for acceptance. Isidora at last understands that "su hermano no sería nunca persona decente, y que no había debajo del sol colegio alguno capaz de darle pulimiento."<sup>84</sup> Galdós thought that solitude had played its part in the development of Mariano's rebellious nature. "Porque el abandono y el vivir entregado a sí propio, favorecen el crecimiento moral en el niño. De la índole nativa depende que este crecimiento sea en buen o mal sentido, y es evi-

dente que los colosos del trabajo, así como los grandes criminales, han nutrido su espíritu en una niñez solitaria. El árbol salvaje, juguete de los vientos en deshabitado país, adquiere un vigor notorio."<sup>85</sup>

Mariano has employment for a while and seemingly does well, but he disappears again. His efforts to gain money by gambling are usually accompanied by bad luck. "Cuando ganaba se permitía lujos desenfrenados..."<sup>86</sup> Only two mentions are made of the boy's interest in girls. On the morning of his fight with Zarapicos "encontró a dos chicas del barrio que le dieron un cacahuet, y él...él las había administrado un par de nalgadas a cada una, porque eran muy bonitas."<sup>87</sup> Winning at gambling later permitted him "ir a los bailes vespertinos de criados y costureras, donde danzaba y hacía conquistas."<sup>88</sup>

One of the last "outside" descriptions of the child is given by Gaitica, "aquel ser de la última gradación moral"<sup>89</sup> when he says to Mariano, "...eres de lo que llaman un parásito, la polilla del orden social, un vago. Tú y tus compañeros debéis ser exterminados..."<sup>90</sup> Gaitica is expressing a popular opinion, touched upon by Louttit. "The attitude in dealing with the delinquent should be 'How can we help this child', not how can we get rid of the child and protect society. The latter is often a pertinent question, but should be asked only as a last resort."<sup>91</sup>

After another long disappearance Mariano is found convalescing from a terrible fever in the general hospital. Other children had told of his whereabouts. "La enfermedad debe haber sido terrible, porque está poco menos que idiota."<sup>92</sup> Mariano's case illustrates a plea the physician Tolosa Latour had made for underprivileged children, "Y quien sabe si apoyados en la miseria y la demencia, acenderán los grados de ese trono de infamia y muerte..."<sup>93</sup> Mariano, subject now to epileptic fits, is the complete enemy of society. The idea of revenge forms and swells until it fills his whole thought. In an effort to punish society, personified in the body of the king, he attempts murder and is later sentenced to execution. "Y esta egoísta sociedad que ha permitido tal abandono, ¿qué nombre merece?"<sup>94</sup> In asking this question Teodoro Golfín, another famous physician, fictional this time, is speaking of Marianela, but the application is universal.

Galdos has attempted to understand the way in which Mariano was organized as a person. He has tried to study the boy from the standpoint of momentary glimpses which are, of course, unsatisfactory, since the true nature of experience is continual change. There is, then, no logical place to stop until one has completed the life story of the individual's experience. As Murphy says, "all psychological systems, whether their protagonists desire it or not, tend to become studies of life histories."<sup>95</sup> Galdos

realized that in the case of personality study the self is not known by reference to short time intervals. "Our gradually increasing scientific insight into the world suggests," continues Murphy, "that change is so much in the very nature of reality that every present presupposes both a past and a future, each of which can be only what the total time-space structure of the universe permits... The person, then, as his biographer reveals him, is as legitimately understood at each stage of his life by reference to what came later as by reference to what came before."<sup>96</sup> In this study of Mariano, Galdós has given the sequence of thoughts, feelings and decisions which tells what a man or woman really is.

With Mariano Galdós presented a concrete example of the problem of juvenile delinquency. An earlier character of Galdós, Teodoro Golfín, had explained it clearly. "Estáis viendo delante de vosotros, al pie mismo de vuestras cómodas casas, a una multitud de seres abandonados, faltos de todo lo que es necesario a la niñez, desde los padres a los juguetes... les estáis viendo, sí... nunca se os ocurre infundirles un poco de dignidad, haciéndoles saber que son seres humanos, dándoles las ideas de que carecen; no se os ocurre ennoblecerles, haciéndoles pasar del bestial trabajo mecánico al trabajo de la inteligencia; les veis viviendo en habitaciones inmundas, mal alimentados, perfeccionándose cada día en su salvage rusticidad, y no se os ocurre



extender un poco hasta ellos las comodidades de que estáis rodeados... ¡Toda la energía la guardáis luego para declarar contra los homicidios, los robos y el suicidio, sin reparar que sostenéis escuela permanente de estos tres crímenes!"<sup>97</sup>

That the message was timely is shown by Leopoldo Alas in his remarks concerning La desheredada. "Galdós, con gran habilidad y con oportunísimo propósito, nos pinta esa degradación, esa miseria en donde más repugna, en donde más triste espectáculo ofrece... en la infancia. 'Pecado', 'Zarapicos', 'Colilla', y sus huestes de pilluelos, angelitos cínicos, carne de presidio, están presentados con elocuente realidad; aquellas escenas, que al distraído pueden parecerle de pueril entretenimiento, sugieren reflexiones tristísimas, amargos sentimientos."<sup>98</sup> Giner de los Ríos, deeply troubled by the general apathy of the nation toward the problem, wrote, "Otro problema de los más apremiantes en este orden es el de la educación correccional. En el movimiento, tan acelerado actualmente, en favor de la infancia abandonada, y de que tan tímido eco resuena en nuestras leyes,... difícil sería citar una sola nación culta que carezca de instituciones para mejorar la condición de los niños deficientes, disminuyendo al menos los obstáculos que sus defectos, sean físicos, intelectuales, morales, sociales, oponen a la normalidad de su bienestar común. Entre

nosotros, algunos sordo-mudos y ciegos, en bien corto número, son objeto de esta solicitud (mientras que en otros pueblos lo son todos); pero ¿qué hacemos con los niños idiotas, imbeciles, retrasados, epilépticos, raquíticos, tuberculosos, lisiados, inválidos? Y esto con la infancia inocente. Con la culpable, con el niño vagabundo, vicioso, criminal... ¡Cuánta desesperación y vergüenza!"<sup>99</sup> Another great Spaniard, contemporary and friend of Galdós, Dr. Tolosa Latour, was spending his life and his money for the protection of underprivileged children. The Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada calls him "nuevo San Vicente de Paul" who "no sólo ama a los niños, sino que les erige un hospicio marítimo,... su Instituto, sin más recursos que los del fundador, va desarrollándose lentamente, y la prensa y la tribuna le sirven de campo para defender las ideas de bondad, de redención y llama un día y otro a las puertas de los gobernantes, y sufre decepciones y aplazamientos, promesas mentidas, porque aquellos políticos ayunos del estudio de lo que en otros países se hiciera y de lo que vale el plantío humano, no entendían de esos romanticismos, ni estaban para perder el tiempo en cosas de chicos. Por fin, a fuerza de machacar, rompe el bloque de indiferencia, y logra ver en la Gaceta y la Ley de protección a la infancia. No obstante, hizose patente la mesquindad ministerial. Al Reglamento tardó en publicarse y la ley entró en vigor largo tiempo despues de

promulgada."<sup>100</sup>

Galdós reflects this actual situation in his novels. La desheredada shows that the society of Madrid was conscious of the problem, even though the exciting plans for schools and penitentiaries were quickly forgotten when attention turned to the new arena for bull fighting.<sup>101</sup> A few individuals keenly felt the need and mentioned it occasionally. Miquis' father-in-law, Muñoz y Nones, talks "de Sanidad y de la fundación de la Penitenciaría para jóvenes delincuentes."<sup>102</sup> Galdós describes Muñoz y Nones: "era un hombre admirablemente dotado... Gran calva lustrada, bajo la cual actuaba sin cesar el prurito de la fundación de una Penitenciaría para jóvenes delincuentes."<sup>103</sup> In an interview with Isidora, Muñoz y Nones makes this offer: "Y para concluir: sé que tiene usted un hermanito que es una alaja. Yo le prometo a usted darle la primera plaza cuando inauguramos la Penitenciaría para jóvenes delincuentes. Le reformaremos..."<sup>104</sup>

The problem of child delinquency is discussed in other works of Galdós. Among those who have actually done something about the situation is Carrillo, of Lo prohibido, whose public spirit was so great that it allowed no time for his own neglected child. "Carrillo era presidente de una Sociedad formada para amparar niños desvalidos, recogerlos de la via pública, y emanciparlos de la mendicidad y de la miseria... Más de quinientas criaturas le debían

pan y abrigo. Inocentes niñas se habían salvado de la prostitución; chiquillos graciosos habían sido curados de las precocidades del crimen al dar el primer paso en la senda que conduce al presidio. La Sociedad hacía ya mucho; pero su ilustre presidente aspiraba siempre a más... Ningún recurso se desperdiciaba, ninguna ocasión se perdía. A este trabajo titánico había que añadir el de organizar fiestas y funciones teatrales para aumentar los fondos de la Sociedad..."<sup>105</sup>

Orozco, protagonist of Realidad which was written nearly a decade later than La desheredada and initiated the new "idealistic" phase or period of Galdós' work, is deeply involved in the same cause. His wife, Agusta, mentions it in a conversation with him. "Ya te afanas porque los muchachos tengan un asilo en que se les corrija; ya te interesas por las niñas abandonadas como si fueran tuyas."<sup>106</sup> At a gathering in the rich Orozco's house, Aguado, one of his friends, says, "De usted se dicen horrores: que costea sólo o casi sólo las obras del Correcional para chicos; que le comen un codo las Hermanitas de la Paciencia; que viste todo el Hospicio dos veces al año, y que se'yo..."<sup>107</sup> Later Orozco is referred to as "el amigo de los Niños."<sup>108</sup>

Guillermína Pacheco is attacking the real root of the problem, and is intent upon saving children before they have a chance to become a menace to society. Her

dream had been to found an asylum for orphans. In spite of difficulties, her institution grew. She says, "La suscripción creció tanto, que al año pude tomar la casa de la calle de Albuquerque, que tiene un gran patio y mucho desahogo. He puesto una zapatería para que los muchachos grandecitos trabajen, y dos escuelas para que aprendan. El año pasado eran sesenta, y ya llegan a ciento diez. Se pasan apuros: pero vamos viviendo..."<sup>109</sup> Guillermina Pacheco's institution was one which had no need for Dr. Tolosa Latour's warning concerning charity homes which he preferred to call "palacios de la caridad." He warned the directors "que tienen en sus manos el porvenir de miles de seres que han de formar parte de la sociedad. ¡Ay de ellas si han descuidado la crianza y educación de tantos infelices, y en lugar de impulsarlos hacia la senda del trabajo, les han dejado correr el enmarañado laberinto de la vagancia acompañado del vicio!"<sup>110</sup>

Teodoro Golfín believed that asylums for needy children were good, but that they were not enough to solve the problem. "Buenos son los asilos; pero no, no bastan para resolver el gran problema que ofrece la orfandad. El miserable huérfano, perdido en las calles y en los campos, desamparado de todo cariño personal, y acogido sólo por las Corporaciones, rara vez llena el vacío que forma en su alma la carencia de familia..."<sup>111</sup> Through the lips of Golfín, Galdós says: "El problema de la orfandad y de

la miseria infantil no se resolverá nunca en absoluto, como no se resolverán tampoco sus compañeros los demás problemas sociales; pero habrá un alivio a mal tan grande cuando las costumbres, apoyadas por las leyes...establezcan que todo huérfano, cualquiera que sea su origen..., no reírse ...tenga derecho a entrar en calidad de hijo adoptivo en la casa de un matrimonio acomodado que carezca de hijos. Ya se arreglarían las cosas de modo que no hubiera padres sin hijos, ni hijos sin padres."<sup>112</sup> Only a fatherly heart could have conceived this notion - a notion so ideal as to be as far from accomplishment in our day as it was when Galdós penned the words some seventy-eight years ago.

The erection of a children's hospital is taking place in a later novel of Galdós, La loca de la casa. It is to be managed by a kind and sympathetic woman, Victoria, who is a friend of childhood. She says, "me propongo organizar con la mayor perfección posible la parte de cuna y establecimiento de maternidad... ¡Ya ves qué satisfacción... criar santamente a esta multitud de hijos, ser la mamá de todos y de cada uno de ellos!"<sup>113</sup>

The account of the brief life of Mariano is unique among Galdós' works both for length and detailed description. It is so because the author has overlooked nothing which he thought might contribute to the understanding of the character of the boy and the explanation of his conduct.

In approaching the problem of child delinquency from both the human and the scientific view point Galdós made a contribution to the psychological literature of his time.

This study of Mariano, which has been a minor part of the novel, is seen to have been a complete case study in itself. In actual comparison it has followed a model used by the modern psychologist C.M. Louttit. In line with Galdós' avowed purpose to teach, it paints a true picture of a bad social condition existing in Madrid in which Galdós sought to interest the public. He called attention to the existence of the problem of child delinquency without flag-waving, but with a quiet persistence which continued throughout the entire work, as the child character of Mariano practically illustrates the Rousseauian saying: "Le plus dangereux intervalle de la vie humaine est celui de la naissance à l'âge de douze ans."<sup>114</sup> Although this is the major study devoted to child delinquency, the problem had been discussed by Teodoro Golfín in Marianela in 1878, three years before La desheredada, and it is mentioned in at least four other later novels: Lo prohibido, Fortunata y Jacinta, Realidad and La loca de la casa, showing that Galdós' interest in unfortunate children persisted, and that the problem they presented still remained for society to solve.

In order to present fully the case of the young social outcast, Galdós, in the accepted manner of the clinical psychologist, studied the heredity of Mariano, his home and neighborhood environment, his education, his companions and his own behavior and experiences with others.

After the external factors had been given, Galdós explored the boy's mind, re-creating events of his past life and the scenes preceding his crime, to show them from the point of view of the child.

This attitude, fresh and new in Spanish literature, makes of Mariano an actual literary personaje and presents a striking psychological study of the little-understood character of one of society's recognized enemies - the child delinquent. Also in the role of the clinical psychologist whose aim, after all, is the satisfactory adjustment, or readjustment of the individual to the environment, Galdós has suggested the need for child guidance and sympathetic education with vocational training for "esta chulería menuda, que sin cesar se ofrece a nuestra vista por calles y caminos, con escándalo de la moral, con borchorno de la sociedad y del cristianismo, que no aciertan a recoger y sujetar estos presidios sueltos del porvenir."<sup>115</sup>

It has been demonstrated that Galdós was in advance of his time in the field of child psychology. His case study sounds as modern as those of today because he had a great comprehension of human nature and was able to interpret scientifically his observations of the workings of children's minds. His creative ability permitted him to weave these details into a remarkable human document with the child as chief character.



## NOTES

1. Joaquín Casaldueiro, Vida y obra de Galdós, Buenos Aires, 1943, p. 42.
2. C.M. Louttit, Clinical Psychology of Children's Behavior Problems, ed. Gardner Murphy, New York, 1947, pp. 64-69.
3. Benito Pérez Galdós, La de Bringas, Buenos Aires, 1945, p. 195.
4. Hippolyte Taine, De l'intelligence, Paris, 1892, p. 21.
5. James Sully, The Human Mind, New York, 1892, p. 19.
6. Gardner Murphy, Approaches to Personality: Supplement, John Levy, The Child Guidance Approach to the Study of Personality, 4th ed. New York, 1937, pp. 257-58.
7. W. Preyer, Die Seele des Kindes: Beobachtungen über die geistige Entwicklung des Menschen in den ersten Lebensjahren Leipzig, 1884, p. 263. ("Man pflegt meistens anzunehmen, das Gedächtniss Erwachsener reiche nicht weiter zurück, als bis in das vierte Lebensjahr. Sichere Beobachtungen darüber sind nicht bekannt.")
8. James Sully, Outlines of Psychology, New York, 1888, p. 264.
9. Galdós, La desheredada, I, Madrid, 1909, p. 38.
10. Louttit, p. 6.
11. Ibid., p. 5.
12. M. de la Revilla, "La emancipación del niño," La revista contemporánea, V. XVI, 1878, pp. 182-83.
13. L.D., II, p. 252.

14. Ibid., II, p. 229.
15. Galdós, Doña Perfecta, Buenos Aires, 1942, p. 141.
16. Galdós, Fortunata y Jacinta, I, Madrid, 1915, p. 15.
17. Ibid., p. 449.
18. Galdós, Miau, Madrid, 1907, p. 80.
19. L.D., II, p. 109.
20. Ibid., I, p. 31.
21. Ibid., II, p. 222.
22. Ibid., II, p. 231.
23. George Ordahl, "A Study of 341 Delinquent Boys," The Journal of Delinquency, V. I, 1918, p. 83.
24. L.D., I, p. 40.
25. Ibid., I, p. 41.
26. Ibid., I, p. 47.
27. Ibid., I, p. 45.
28. Ibid., I, p. 45.
29. Ibid., I, p. 45.
30. Ibid., I, pp. 229-30.
31. Ibid., I, p. 54.
32. Ibid., I, p. 54.
33. Ibid., I, p. 55.
34. Galdós, El audaz, Madrid, 1907, p. 10.
35. L.D., I, p. 99.
36. Ibid., p. 101.
37. Ibid., p. 102.
38. Ibid., p. 103.

39. Ibid., p. 103.
40. Ibid., p. 103.
41. Ibid., p. 104.
42. Ibid., p. 104.
43. Louttit, pp. 62-63.
44. L.D., I, p. 106.
45. D. Ramón Cala, "Estudios sociales: los niños," La revista de España, V. XXXVIII, Madrid, 1874, pp. 200-201.
46. L.D., I, p. 107.
47. Manuel Tolosa Latour, "Bases científicas para la educación física, intelectual y sentimental de los niños," La revista europea, 7 diciembre 1879, p. 713.
48. L.D., p. 108.
49. Freyer, p. 125. "So ist es auch beim Menschen einerseits die Unkenntniss der Gefahr, anderseits die Gewöhnung an dieselbe, welche furchtlos macht."
50. L.D., I, p. 110.
51. Varela Hervías, Cartas de Pérez Galdós a Mesonero Romanos, Madrid, 1943, pp. 25-26.
52. Leopoldo Alas, Obras completas, T. I, Madrid, 1912, p.103.
53. L.D., I, p. 114.
54. Ibid., p. 118.
55. Ibid., p. 118.
56. Galdós, El doctor Centeno, I, Madrid, 1905, pp. 72-73.
57. H. de Balzac, Oeuvres complètes de, "La femme de trente ans," Paris, 1875, pp. 627-29.

58. L.D., I, p. 121.
59. Ibid., I, p. 124.
60. Ibid., I, p. 124.
61. Ibid., I, p. 127.
62. Sully, Outlines of Psychology, p. 264.
63. L.D., I, p. 127.
64. Cyril Burt, The Young Delinquent, London, 1938, pp. 235-36.
65. L.D., I, p. 128.
66. Ibid., p. 124.
67. M. de la Revilla, p. 184.
68. Burt, p. 105.
69. Louttit, p. 446.
70. L.D., I, p. 227.
71. M. de la Revilla, p. 185.
72. L.D., I, pp. 131-32.
73. El audaz, p. 94.
74. M. de la Revilla, p. 178.
75. L.D., I, p. 240.
76. Ibid., I, p. 243.
77. Ibid., I, p. 244.
78. Ibid., I, p. 245.
79. Ibid., I, p. 245.
80. Ibid., I, p. 245.
81. M. de la Revilla, p. 133.
82. L.D., I, p. 245.
83. Ibid., I, p. 237.

84. L.D., II, p. 46.
85. Ibid., II, p. 108.
86. Ibid., II, p. 63.
87. L.D., I, p. 129.
88. Ibid., II, p. 63.
89. Ibid., II, p. 215.
90. Ibid., II, p. 216.
91. Louttit, p. 398.
92. L.D., II, p. 193.
93. Tolosa Latour, p. 718.
94. Galdós, Marianela, Buenos Aires, 1941, p. 139.
95. Murphy, p. 22.
96. Ibid., p. 24.
97. Marianela, p. 74.
98. Alas, p. 102.
99. F. Giner de los Ríos, Obras completas, V. XI, Madrid, 1898, p. 146.
100. Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada, V. LXII, pp. 539-40.
101. L.D., I, p. 132.
102. L.D., II, p. 140.
103. Ibid., II, p. 220.
104. Ibid., II, p. 229.
105. Galdós, Lo prohibido, Madrid, 1906, p. 146.
106. Galdós, Realidad, Madrid, 1916, p. 63.
107. Ibid., p. 46.
108. Ibid., p. 92.

- 109. Fortunata y Jacinta, I, p. 221.
- 110. Tolosa Latour, p. 713.
- 111. Marianela, p. 74.
- 112. Ibid., p. 75.
- 113. Carlos Sainz de Robles, Obras completas de Don Benito Pérez Galdós, V.V, Madrid, 1942, p. 1716.
- 114. J. J. Rousseau, Oeuvres complètes de, Livre II, T. II, Paris, 1865, pp. 60-61.
- 115. L.D., I, p. 246.

### CHAPTER III

#### THE CHILD AND EDUCATION

That Galdós wished children to be happy in the present is made clear in many of his novels by his accounts of their activities and the presentation of conditions surrounding them which cried for immediate improvement; but it is also clear that he desired an educational preparation that would insure them a happy future. He calls this education, or instruction, the "pan del alma."<sup>1</sup> Galdós' own childhood experience and his knowledge of prevailing primary educational practices convinced him that such a preparation was being denied children, and so he began his crusade against the existing system by exposing the horrors of the typical convent school and the common public schools.

The aim of this chapter is to survey Galdós' whole treatment of primary education in relation to children. Examinations of contemporary articles and writings in Spain prove that Galdós' fictions were, as usual, based on very solid facts. His ideas along these lines were so much a part of his life that the interest shown in his first novel, Fontana de oro, continued without interruption throughout all his novels, although length and importance of references vary widely. Coinciding with the period of Galdós' greatest interest in children in general, the high peaks of interest in primary education occur in 1883 with

El doctor Centeno and in 1888 with Miau.

In his own student days Galdós had argued that a skilled cobbler was socially more useful than a Bachiller en Artes,<sup>2</sup> but his novels show him to be in accord with another great personality of the XIX century, the educator Giner de los Ríos who wrote in 1876, "El estudiante que estudia y el obrero, cada cual a su modo, preparan una nueva nación en el viejo solar de esta tierra."<sup>3</sup> Galdós often refers to uneducated children as savages and animals: In El amigo Manso, Manso asks himself, "¿Cómo llegó Irene a domar aquellas tres fierecitas?";<sup>4</sup> José Ido in Tormento says, "Ya no soy desbravador de chicos; ya no me ocupo en trocar las bestias en hombres...";<sup>5</sup> in Fortunata y Jacinta the little Pitusín, who has had no training, is called a "salvaje";<sup>6</sup> and the old schoolmaster of El caballero encantado speaks sadly of his life "consagrada a la más alta función del Reino, que es disponer a los niños para que pasen de animalitos a personas..."<sup>7</sup>

Great men of letters of all times have understood the importance of education and its problems have arisen and been discussed in almost all the centuries. In the eighteenth century, as Leblond notes, "Nul plus que Rousseau, qu'on a tant accusé de pessimisme, n'a eu confiance dans l'éducation: c'est elle seule qui peut nous élever au bonheur et ce nous est un devoir d'y atteindre."<sup>8</sup>

Instruction, however, during the sixteenth, seven-



teenth and most of the eighteenth century was confined to a narrow range of subjects presented in a most imperfect and mechanical way. Giner de los Ríos writes that the University in Spain first began to have new life during constitutional times. However, "La escuela primaria no obtuvo igual atención; en apariencia, continuó el movimiento de Montesino; [first to create the Escuela Normal<sup>9</sup>] en el fondo, se apagó en seguida."<sup>10</sup> The brief and insufficient instruction received in the primary and secondary school stages by the Spanish children was also the cause of the embarrassment of students at more advanced stages in learning.<sup>11</sup> Inadequate and poor as it was, the fee required from the student was more than many could well pay. As la tía Sanguinuelera asked, "¿Crees que hay colegios de a ochavo como los buñuelos?"<sup>12</sup> In El doctor Centeno Galdós mentions one free night school. Felipe's friend Juanito del Socorro was attending "la escuela gratuita de dibujo" where he was learning to gild objects for decorative purposes and was, at the moment, "refrescando un altar."<sup>13</sup>

Like the room in which Galdós received his primary instruction,<sup>14</sup> the school rooms of the time were dark and unsanitary and kept in order by the sternest of discipline and cruel punishments. Men and women of Galdós' day looked back upon their early school as a dungeon and at the teacher as a taskmaster and jailer. In 1874 D. Ramón Cala's social

studies concerning children led him to write the following:  
"La escuela de nuestra civilización es una verdadera carcel, que se hace odiosa como todos los lugares de tormento. No habrá un solo hombre que no sienta misteriosa conmoción de disgusto y antipatía al recordar las horas largas que pasó en la escuela cuando era niño, conmoción que no han podido apagar los años desde entonces transcurridos; tan profunda es la impresión del tormento."<sup>15</sup>

Bad and imperfect though it seemed, Galdós realized that the school was an indispensable institution which had not perished in all the course of time, but on the other hand had increased in number and influence. Like Pestalozzi,<sup>16</sup> Galdós knew that where schools flourish one may expect civilization and knowledge, where they do not exist one expects barbarity and ignorance.

As Cala had said, "Vivimos en el tiempo de las reformas,"<sup>17</sup> for changing social and political conditions in Spain were bringing the attention of her thinkers more and more to the problems and need of education. Faithful mirror of his generation, Galdós was to illustrate in his novels an observation made by Giner de los Ríos: "El interés público crece ya entre nosotros cada día con relación a la escuela primaria, aunque tan despacio!"<sup>18</sup>

Leading reviews, La revista contemporánea, La revista de España, La ilustración española y americana, and La re-

vista europea were publishing articles among which the following bear on Galdós' subject: "La educación nacional como un deber de la nación" by Max Müller,<sup>19</sup> "Un sistema de educación nacional" by Francisco de Asís Pacheco,<sup>20</sup> "De las reformas necesarias en la instrucción pública española" by Manuel de la Revilla,<sup>21</sup> "La instrucción en España y en los Estados Unidos de América" by Tomás Lozano,<sup>22</sup> "La enseñanza pública" by Manuel Quejana Toro,<sup>23</sup> "Escuela central de párvulos denominada 'Jardines de la infancia'"<sup>24</sup> and "La educación popular" by Don Modesto Fernández y González and "La educación nacional por medio del ejército" by M. Laboulaye.<sup>25</sup> Most of these authors, like Tomás Lozano who blamed all of Spain's ills on "la ignorancia del pueblo"<sup>27</sup> and championed obligatory instruction "por respeto a Dios y por derecho de los hombres",<sup>28</sup> with Max Müller (German-born English orientalist and mythologist) pleaded for "educación nacional obligatoria, y si puede ser, gratuita."<sup>29</sup>

Inspired by the educational ideals of his friend<sup>30</sup> and countryman, Giner de los Ríos, whose intellectual honesty and esthetic sobriety he particularly admired,<sup>31</sup> Galdós' constant aim in his novels was to show that the few short years which turn the careless child into a citizen with responsibilities and obligations, should be filled with an education of the most practical and useful sort. As Giner de los Ríos wrote, "...el mundo entero clama por una educación que enseñe al joven a vivir, que lo lleve a

la acción civil, y humana, no a la contemplación sentimental e inerte; que haga hombres, no diletantes y meta en cintura el intelectualismo destronado."<sup>32</sup>

Spain had sent representatives to Germany to study model schools founded on Pestalozzian principles,<sup>33</sup> Giner de los Ríos had called attention to the model French schools,<sup>34</sup> Lozano had made a comparison of the instruction in Spain and the United States<sup>35</sup> and P. Estassen had published a study showing that Spain paid less, per inhabitant, for education than any other countries except Greece and Russia.<sup>36</sup> So it was, as Revilla said, "un hecho evidente...que la organización de la instrucción pública en España...dista mucho de ser satisfactoria y de hallarse a la altura que alcanza en otras naciones más afortunadas que la nuestra."<sup>37</sup> Galdós saw this need of Spain very clearly and his pen was to demonstrate more than once the "more than passing faith in education"<sup>38</sup> attributed to him. He, like Giner de los Ríos, felt concern over "la atmósfera general de indiferencia por las cosas que tocan a la educación nacional..."<sup>39</sup> Almost everyone in the novels of Galdós from the professional beggar on the street<sup>40</sup> up, talks about education. A village alcalde in Nazarín would like a university in every city,<sup>41</sup> and a man who worked in a fireworks factory "sostenía que los juegos de pólvora pueden y deben ser una rama de la Instrucción pública."<sup>42</sup>

Galdós' first novel, La fontana de oro, written when he was twenty-seven years of age, shows the interest in education which he was to maintain throughout his novelistic life. His picture of primary education begins with one of the dreariest and saddest imaginable. In order to illumine the character of the now eighteen-year-old Clara, she is shown as a five-year-old orphan attending her first school, a convento-colegio in Madrid, under the direction of some sisters of a famous religious order.<sup>43</sup> According to Revilla, it was customary for children of five or six years of age to enter such schools.<sup>44</sup> As is usually the case in the Galdós novels, the teachers were neither young, nor amiable, nor sabias. Like the mistresses of the "Migas" school who tortured Benito Galdós and his little classmates,<sup>45</sup> the two old women in charge of Clara's college are vicious figures, far removed from the ideal character of the teacher Giner de los Ríos, "dispuesto siempre al juego y a la risa."<sup>46</sup>

In La desheredada appears the unsympathetic figure of a schoolmaster who publicly humiliated a poor student in his class,<sup>47</sup> but Galdós' gloomy conception of the teaching profession reached its height in El doctor Centeno with the detailed description of the violently cruel and ignorant Pedro Polo.<sup>48</sup> In Miau the cruel master is called a verdugo<sup>49</sup> and in Luis' dream even God refers to him as a bruto.<sup>50</sup>

These harsh and ignorant teachers suffered also, for there was so little pay for teaching that only true martyrs could endure the life. Giner de los Ríos commented, "el sa-

lario de los profesores...es por extremo insuficiente."<sup>51</sup>

The classic example of the poor schoolteacher in Galdós is the always about-to-starve José Ido<sup>52</sup> whose own children are too ragged to go to school.<sup>53</sup> Professorial hunger seemed almost proverbial, for Juan de Santa Cruz in Fortunata y Jacinta says, "Tráigame lo que quieran, que tengo más hambre que un maestro de escuela."<sup>54</sup> In Torquemada en la cruz, the dying Doña Lupe's incoherent last words include a reference to the ignorance and misery of schoolteachers,<sup>55</sup> la Chanfaina of Nazarín remarks of Nazarín, "También le digo que para maestro de escuela está cortado, por aquello de la paciencia y el no comer..."<sup>56</sup> and in El caballero encantado, the kind old Don Quiboro (Alquiborontifosio) says, "Cuando yo enseñaba a los chicos a jugar con las letras y a pintarse los dedos con los palotes, ellos me socorrían... Uno me traía la ristra de cebollas, otro la media docena de huevos, aquél dos medidas de leche, quillotro una hogaza de seis libras. Pero vienen los tiempos malos, y Alquiborontifosio sale a pedir limosna a los caminos, y lo que saco doylo a los chicos..."<sup>57</sup> As he actually dies of starvation, the old man says, "pertenezco a la última fermentación de la podredumbre del Reino... Ya ve usted por mí pelaje como acaban los que, enseñando a la infancia, allanamos el suelo para cimentar y construir la paz, la ilustración y la justicia,"<sup>58</sup> and Galdós adds, "así murió la solícita abeja, que dio toda su miel a las generaciones in-

gratas."<sup>59</sup> He is another example, in the words of Revilla, of "el profesorado tan mal retribuido, que su deplorable estado indigna y escandaliza a todos los que en algo estiman la enseñanza y se interesan por el porvenir de la nación."<sup>60</sup> P. Estassen also writes with the same point of view concerning this situation.

The attitude of the public toward school teachers is well shown by Galdós in El amigo Manso in the great indignation of Doña Javiera at the prospect of having a maestra for a daughter-in-law. "¡Una maestra de escuela!..., de esas que enseñan a los mocosos el pe a pa... Ahí tiene usted un hombre perdido..., adiós carrera, adiós porvenir... ¡Jesús! ¡Qué dirá la gente! ¡Jesús! ¡Jesús!... ¡Una maestra de escuela! Estoy abochornada. ¡Qué dirá la gente!... Será cosa de no poder salir a la calle."<sup>62</sup>

The abysmal ignorance of the school teachers, best shown in El doctor Centeno and Miau, was a consequence of apathetic public opinion. "Para maestro primero, ¿quién no sirve?' se dice" wrote Giner de los Ríos<sup>62</sup> and Galdós shows how little the public was interested in the actual state of the primary schools by mentioning that the Polo school enjoyed great popularity. "Centenares de hijos del hombre acudieron de todas las partes del barrio, atraídos por la fama de docto, juicioso y paternal que había adquirido Polo..."<sup>64</sup>

The school day was long for the young victims of

Spain's educational system.<sup>65</sup> Five-year-old Clara and the other little girls of La fontana de oro awoke very early to start the day with prayer. After a frugal breakfast, they went to the classroom, "en el cual desempeñaba el principal papel la caña de doña Angustias."<sup>66</sup> They practiced writing for two hours, answered questions from the Catechism and then sewed for three hours. Play time was spent in a dark and smelly patio which Galdós labeled a pocilga. After eating, came an interminable session of recitations of the rosary and "infinitos paternosters" accompanied by all manner of other religious recitations.<sup>67</sup> As Cala had observed, these long hours of tyranny and oppression found relief in any distraction,<sup>68</sup> and so when some unfortunate child fell asleep during the ordeal, she was rudely awakened by a blow from the teacher's cane, and "las otras niñas, que no esperaban más que un motivo de distracción y entretenimiento, al ver la triste figura que hacia su compañera al despertar bruscamente, soltaban la risa, se interrumpía el rezo, gruñía la madre Brígida, cacareaba la madre Angustias, y llovían los cañazos a diestra y siniestra."<sup>69</sup> Cruel and unusual punishments were inflicted for slight cause.<sup>70</sup> Clara spent four years of terror in this school and left it at the age of eleven, her formal education being finished.

Childish joy and enthusiasm had been severely repressed in this institution. The result of an institutional education of this type is shown in the figure of the re-



pressed old maid, Doña Paulita, of this same novel.<sup>71</sup> That this type of convent school was, and still is, an educational problem is shown by Cesar Barja who says, "Complejo en todas partes el problema de la educación de la juventud, en España lo es de una manera particular. Las dificultades que presentan son de varias clases, siendo de notar entre ellas, y no como la menor, la misma escisión del menester entre los poderes civil y eclesiástico, laico y religioso... Las creencias en esos centros inculcadas podrán ser adaptadas; lo inaceptable es el método o sistema de educación."<sup>72</sup> One mother's attitude toward such schools is shown by Galdós in Cassandra when she, facing an indefinite jail sentence for murder, refuses to entrust her children to the care of a religious institution.<sup>73</sup>

After such schooling Clara's health later is restored by a sojourn in the country.<sup>74</sup> The description of her happy days there seems to have been written by one who must have known the solitude of the country, the "largo horizonte" and the "grandes distancias."<sup>75</sup> The Rousseauian idea of the benefits of country life with the return to natural surroundings is noted in other Galdosian novels. For the orphan Pablillo of El audaz the happy and peaceful pastoral life at Aranjuez made him believe he had been "transportado a un Edén, donde no se le ocupaba en otra cosa que en brincar y poner atención a las estrofas de Meléndez y de Ca-

dalso...."<sup>76</sup> Isidora's little son, Riquín, "estaba como un hilo", but fresh country air at the Escorial where he "saltaba y corría por el campo" restored the healthy color to his cheeks.<sup>77</sup> The attending physician also ordered long country walks for the ailing Isabel in La de Bringas.<sup>78</sup> The description of the happy play of Ildefonso with the animals as he visited Ángel Guerra's cigarral is one of Galdós' most detailed accounts of childish play in the country.<sup>79</sup> In Halma the Condesa de Halma recalls details of her childhood when she had been taken to the country to restore her health. "Pepe Antonio y yo pasábamos largas temporadas hechos unos salvajes, corriendo por praderas y sembrados, declarando la guerra a los pobres grillos, y comiéndonos, no sólo la fruta madura, sino la verde."<sup>80</sup> And in La razón de la sinrazón active children play around a school "rodeada de frondosos árboles frutales y de amenos boscajes de mirto y laurel..."<sup>81</sup> Glimpses of children enjoying the liberty of play in the country are rare in Galdós, for he wrote of city children. They offer contrast to the ugliness of play in city streets and to the prison-like schools of Madrid where physical education for primary students was unknown.<sup>82</sup>

Although in El audaz emphasis is placed on higher education, there is little opportunity for the chief child character, Pablillo (whose likeness to Little Dorrit and Oliver Twist of Dickens has been noted<sup>83</sup>) to receive formal instruction. Orphaned and friendless, he is finally res-

cued by some friends of his mad brother who "recogieron, educaron y adoptaron al fin a Pablillo..."<sup>84</sup> The whole of Chapter V is devoted to the misfortunes of this nine-year-old boy. With attention Galdós followed the mental processes of the child and observed: "...es cierto que en los niños, cuando se ven privados de todo afecto, cuando su destino les arroja al mundo solos y desamparados, se desarrolla una prematura actividad de espíritu. El instinto de buscar la vida y la felicidad que se les niega, les lleva a acometer empresas para ellos gigantescas, y que en situación normal jamás hubieran podido idear..."<sup>85</sup>

The early education of Pepe Rey, the ideally educated man<sup>86</sup> of Doña Perfecta, is not elaborated upon, and although Rosario seemingly had received religious instruction, her education did not even include the barniz of the times: the ability to play the piano and speak a little French.<sup>87</sup>

As Galdós continually shows, the education of girls was particularly unsatisfactory in Spain. They arrived at womanhood with very little real knowledge. Clara's four years in the convent school had not given her much preparation for life. "Su inteligencia no estaba bien cultivada, pues no sabía sino leer, escribir y hacer algunas cuentas; pero, en cambio, cosía muy bien y entendía de toda clase de labores."<sup>88</sup> After years in a colegio Gloria "volvió a su casa en completa posesión del Catecismo, dueña de la

Historia Sagrada y parte de la profana, con muchas, aunque confusas nociones de geografía, astronomía y física, mascullando en francés sin saber el español, y con medianas conquistas en los dominios del arte de la aguja. Se sabía de memoria, sin omitir letra, los deberes del hombre, y era regular maestra en tocar el piano..."<sup>89</sup>

The first of the three branches of public instruction is "la enseñanza primaria" which, according to Revilla, is supposed to comprise "aquellos conocimientos que son absolutamente necesarios a toda persona, y que, por tanto, deben ponerse al alcance to todos los ciudadanos de un país."<sup>90</sup>

But that the unfortunate course of study of Gloria, as well as the others considered here, is an accurate representation of the facts is shown by comparison with Revilla's description of primary education: "La enseñanza se reduce a unas nociones de lectura, escritura y aritmética, tales y tan imperfectas, que apenas suministran a los alumnos otros conocimientos que leer a tropezones, trazar sin ortografía unos groseros rasgos que parecen letras y saber de mala manera y mecánicamente las cuatro operaciones fundamentales de la aritmética. El catecismo, la historia sagrada y algunas nociones de gramática, geografía e historia, todo ello aprendido de memoria, y por regla general, sin explicaciones, comentarios ni ejercicios prácticos de ningún género, y algunas oraciones recitadas en coro, constituyen casi siempre la brillante enseñanza que los niños reciben, y de la

cual salen con muchas cosas aprendidas de memoria y que no entienden, sin una idea ni un sentimiento educador, sin haber aprendido ciencia, ni religión, ni moral, ni nada, y tan ignorantes y salvajes, sobre poco más o menos, como cuando entraron en la escuela."<sup>91</sup> Gloria's father, too, complained of her education: "En estos colegios del día-afirmo-preparan el entendimiento de los niños para las ideas como los dedos para las teclas."<sup>92</sup> But even he thought a woman's mind was not capable of understanding certain subjects,<sup>93</sup> and Revilla, three years after Galdós wrote Gloria, did not devote much space in his article to the question of whether or not girls should receive secondary education because "como, por ahora, no se piensa seriamente en esto, no hay necesidad de que nos ocupemos en determinar como habían de organizarse tales estudios."<sup>94</sup> Felipe Centeno voices the common opinion when he says to Marianela, "De todo lo que yo vaya aprendiendo te iré enseñando a tí un poquillo, un poquillo nada más, porque las mujeres no necesitan tantas sabidurías como nosotros los señores médicos."<sup>95</sup>

In La familia de León Roch the "educación perversa"<sup>96</sup> of Pepa Fúcar is responsible for her unhappy life and María Sudre's education was little better. "Sabía leer bien, escribir mal, y recitaba la doctrina sin perder una coma. A excepción de algunas ideas gramaticales y geográficas que le inculcó una maestra de gran sabiduría, todo lo demás lo ignoraba."<sup>97</sup> Later María entered a colegio. "Salió de él

a los dos años con el barniz que en tales casas se da..."<sup>98</sup>  
León Roch, himself well educated, had a certain aridity of character "ocasionada por el escaso empleo de la imaginación en su niñez en sus estudios. Se había criado en una trastienda, y allí corrió desabrida su edad primera al lado de su madre, mujer tosca y sin delicadeza, que sentía poco y carecía de luces. Trabajaba mucho, pero no sabía leer."<sup>99</sup>

It is clear in the novelas of the first epoch, that Galdós has shown a deep interest in the problems of primary education, and that education, particularly that of girls, he paints as woefully superficial and inadequate and that this corresponded accurately with the facts.

References to the education of older characters are frequent in La desheredada.<sup>100</sup> When Fortunata, who had had no education at all, was learning some things from Maxi, Galdós commented: "Y también aprendió cosas tan importantes como la sucesión de los meses del año, que no sabía, y cual tenía treinta y cual treinta y un días. Aunque parezca mentira, éste es uno de los rasgos característicos de la ignorancia española, más en las ciudades que en las aldeas, y más en las mujeres que en los hombres."<sup>101</sup> Little, however, is found concerning the actual school days of young children, for the novel deals with poor children whose education came from the streets, rather than from the schools. In 1874 D. Ramón Cala, writing of the education of poor children,

had said, "Respecto a su tránsito por la escuela, si por fortuna la visita, poco más hay que decir...que padece..."<sup>102</sup>

The remark is well illustrated by Mariano's experience in the "colegio de la calle de Valverde"<sup>103</sup> and by Felipe's in the Polo school.<sup>104</sup>

However inadequate it may have been, rich children received some education, but the poor child rarely had the opportunity to learn to read or write, and he, of course, formed part of the great majority which could do neither. In a contrast of Spain's literacy with that of other nations, Giner de los Ríos wrote in 1898: "...hay que valerse de los procedimientos rápidos...usuales en todos los pueblos que sienten la necesidad de ganar tiempo: Inglaterra, Francia, Italia, Japón, Australia, Nueva Zelanda, donde el 80 por 100 de la población sabe ya leer y escribir, mientras que en España no llega al 49..."<sup>105</sup> In El doctor Canteno the schoolmaster José Ido, handwriting expert, had no job and Galdós comments: "Y pensar que había en España diez millones de seres, con ojos y manos, que no sabían escribir!"<sup>106</sup>

Continuing the theme of the insufficiency of girls' learning, Isabel Bringas' father says, "Ahora lo que más me preocupa es la educación de Isabelita, que dentro de algunos años sera una mujer. Es preciso ponerle un maestro de piano...de francés. La música y los idiomas son indispensables en la buena sociedad."<sup>107</sup> In the same novel,

Tormento, the rich Agustín Caballero writes a cousin in America concerning the education of Spanish girls, "las niñas estas, cuanto más pobres, más soberbias. Su educación es nula."<sup>108</sup> In Fortunata y Jacinta Galdós refers to Barbara Arnáiz's schooling as being "harto sencillito en aquellos tiempos, y consistía en leer sin acento, escribir sin ortografía, contar haciendo trompetitas con la boca y bordar con punto de marca el dechado..."<sup>109</sup> Jacinta herself "no tenía ninguna especie de erudición. Había leído muy pocos libros. Era completamente ignorante en cuestiones de geografía artística..."<sup>110</sup> and Fortunata, as Juan Santa Cruz said, "no tenía educación."<sup>111</sup> Augusta, of La incógnita, is "mujer hermosa, pero sin instrucción."<sup>112</sup> Tristana is a victim of her "descuidada educación"<sup>113</sup> and laments, "Pero mi pobre mamá no pensó más que en darme la educación insubstancial de las niñas que aprenden para llevar un buen yerno a casa, a saber; un poco de piano, el indispensable barniz de francés, y que sé yo...tonterías."<sup>114</sup> Like M. de Revilla,<sup>115</sup> Torquemada was of the opinion that a girl's schooling should be practical, and include "en vez de tanto piano y tanto bordado de zapatillas, aprendieran a poner bien un arroz a la vizcaina o un atún a la marinera."<sup>116</sup>

In Marianela begins the story of Felipe Centeno, a boy who revolted against his parents because they denied him an education. This rebellion or conflict of generations is not treated in the English, French or Russian man-



ner which, as Thibaudet says, "show us their heroes in struggle against a hard and brutal parent",<sup>117</sup> for the young Spaniard runs away from home to work out the problem for himself. It was clear to Felipe that the only means of escape from the brutish work of the mines was by education. Accordingly he had saved every penny to help pay for his schooling and "para hacerme hombre de provecho."<sup>118</sup> Felipe was inspired by the heroic accomplishments of Teodoro Gólfín, self-made celebrated surgeon, and with childish enthusiasm says to Marianela: "Desde que yo llegue a Madrid, por un lado rapando y por otro estudiando, he de aprender en dos meses toda la ciencia."<sup>119</sup> His dream is that he will learn to read and write in the same quick fashion and become a famous doctor. Marianela, the uneducated heroine of the story, sympathized with Felipe and helped by giving him all the money she had.<sup>120</sup> She is the only one to bid him good-bye as he started out to seek his fortune.<sup>121</sup> Galdós comments, "La geología había perdido una piedra y la sociedad había ganado un hombre."<sup>122</sup> The struggle of this child for an education was a theme which was to remain in Galdós' mind for a period of about seven years, for Felipe appears in five novels dating from 1878 to 1884: Marianela, La familia de León Roch, El doctor Centeno, Tormento, and La de Brindas. The idea of children pleading for an education is expressed also in La familia de León Roch as León dreams of his ideal family and "unos

seres pequeños que irían saliendo, y haciendo gracias y pedirían pidiendo el pan de la educación."<sup>123</sup>

La familia de León Roch finds Felipe in Madrid in service at the Sudre house, but nothing is learned of any progress in his education.

Felipe's desire to become a doctor is an example of a child's vocational ambitions which, according to the psychologist Louttit, commonly have no relation to either abilities or knowledge about the nature of the desired vocation.<sup>124</sup> The inadequate schooling of the time gave a child no vocational help and parents usually decided their child's career. The blindness of the parent or guardian in choosing a vocation for the child is shown in La desheredada when Isidora, the older sister, questions Mariano: "¿Qué carrera quieres seguir?... ¿No te gustaría ser militar y llegar a general?"<sup>125</sup> Later when Isidora is determined that the boy should go to work, her aristocratic principles will not permit him any ordinary occupation.<sup>126</sup>

Other like instances in the novels of Galdós bear out D. Ramón Cala's assertion that "en los límites ya de la juventud trata la familia de darle carrera, de fijar su posición en la sociedad; y para resolver este interesante problema de la vida se tienen en cuenta las circunstancias y razones más incongruentes. Para nada se examinan las inclinaciones del niño, ni su aptitud, ni por consecuencia su felicidad verdadera, sino las condiciones sociales en su

aparencia más falsa, engañosa e indigna."<sup>127</sup>

In El doctor Centeno Juanito del Socorro had learned to gild objects "por gusto de su madre y de allí pasaría a Ingeniero."<sup>128</sup> Another parent, Bringas of Tormento, quickly arranges a satisfactory career for his son Paquito, "se le destinaba a estudiar Leyes, para seguir, de un modo glorioso, las huellas burocráticas de su señor padre."<sup>129</sup> Later Bringas remarks with satisfaction, "Paquito será un funcionario inteligente..."<sup>130</sup> The father of Silvestre Murillo, of Miau, has also destined him for Law, a great orator, or, "¿por qué no ministro?"<sup>131</sup> Torquemada, at a loss to choose a career fine enough for his brilliant son, was considering that of road engineer.<sup>132</sup> Kind old Don Mancebo in Ángel Guerra with seven nephews to place, worries about their futures, but maintains a reasonable attitude which considers the individual child's inclination. "Ildefonso ingeniero, Paco abogado; luego vendrían el militarcito, el arquitecto, el médico, según la disposición que fueran sacando..."<sup>133</sup> It is interesting to note that in a conversation with Ángel Guerra, the boy Ildefonso insists that he will be a "cadete o nada."<sup>134</sup> Cintia, of El caballero encantado, in the manner of all parents, dreams of her baby son's future: "Daremos a nuestro chiquitín una carrera: le educaremos para maestro de maestros."<sup>135</sup> The oldest son of José Ido, Fortunata y Jacinta, had his own ambitions which are contrary to his mother's wishes.

She complains, "Quiere ser torero, y nos trae crucificados."<sup>136</sup>  
Luis Cadalso's announcement that he wishes to become a "cura" is met with laughter.<sup>137</sup>

In an analysis of such childish ambitions, Galdós says, "Otros niños, cuando les preguntan lo que quieren ser, responden que obispos o generales si despuntan por la vanidad; los que pican por la destreza corporal, dicen que cocheros, atletas o payasos de circo; los inclinados a la imitación, actores, pintores..."<sup>138</sup> When Valentín, Torquemada's gifted child, was asked the question he made no answer. "...alzaba los hombros y no respondía nada. Cuando más, decía 'no sé', y al decirlo, clavaba en su interlocutor una mirada luminosa y penetrante, vago destello del sin fin de ideas que tenía en aquel cerebrazo, y que en su día habían de iluminar la tierra."<sup>139</sup>

The above examples show abundantly that in addition to the inadequate formal schooling the child's education was, both in Galdós' view and in fact, often hindered or misguided by the false ideals of his elders.

Galdós clearly states some of his principal aims for good education in El amigo Manso, but it is a book dedicated to education at a high age level. Manso, the good teacher,<sup>140</sup> is primarily interested in the education of youth, his own prize private pupil being twenty-one years of age,<sup>141</sup> but he is not above taking an active hand

in the primary instruction of his brother's children. The novel does provide a very pleasant picture of the private instruction of the three young Manso children under the care of the young institutriz, Irene. She was given entire charge of the children and spent all of her time with them so that instruction was carried on even during the meal times. The two little girls and the three year old boy, scarcely more than animals at first, responded instantly to her persuasion, patience and sweetness. No punishment was ever given and Galdós speaks of her "innata sabiduría de las condiciones de la infancia."<sup>142</sup>

Irene's classroom was orderly and decorated with a few old and new maps. Lights were turned on early and often Manso himself shared the teaching of the conjugations and declensions. Like students in the regular schools, the girls studied Geography, Sacred History, Analogy and Syntaxis of Castillian and French. While the ink-stained little fingers of the girls wrote their themes, Pepito was busy writing and drawing. Manso says, "...hacía rayas y jeroglíficos en un rincón, y a cada momento venía a enseñarme sus obras, llamándolas caballos, burros y casas."<sup>143</sup> Pepito's work and his actions illustrate perfectly these lines from a work written one year before El amigo Manso. W. Preyer, leading German educator of Galdós' time, wrote, "Erst nach dem 3. Jahre tritt die Fähigkeit hervor, selbst durch Linien auf

Papier oder durch Ausschneiden bekannte Gegenstände darzustellen. Vorher will das Kind, 'schreiben' (raiwe) d.h. zeichnen, meint auch durch allerlei Striche eine Locomotive, ein Pferd, einen Löffel, einen Teller, eine Flasche abzubilden, es gelingt ihm aber nicht ohne Unterstützung."<sup>144</sup> These fortunate little Manso children were receiving the friendliest kind of instruction, with their uncle constantly offering suggestions: "Por Dios, Jesusita, no pintes, no pintes, haz el trazo con libertad, y salga lo que saliere."<sup>145</sup>

It seems ironic that Irene, one of the most sympathetic of all the schoolteachers in the novelas, was only playing a part. She had no real love for teaching and confides to Manso: "...si supiera usted, amigo, lo que padecía para vencer mi tristeza y mi resistencia a enseñar... ¡qué cargante oficio! ¡Enseñar Gramática y Aritmética! Li-diar con chiquillos ajenos, aguantar sus pesadeces... Se necesita un heroísmo tremendo..."<sup>146</sup> Manso, astonished, confesses sadly that Irene had turned out to be only "una dama de tantas..."<sup>147</sup>

Private instruction by both foreign and native teachers is received by other small characters in the novels. José Ido was qualified to give private instruction and did so whenever he had the opportunity.<sup>148</sup> In Lo prohibido, Rafael, son of Eloísa, had a French governess<sup>149</sup> and some rich children in Fortunata y Jacinta had an English gover-

ness.<sup>150</sup> Leré had been in charge of Ángel Guerra's daughter, Encarnación for two years,<sup>151</sup> and Guerra himself gave private instruction to Jesús Viromes.<sup>152</sup> The orphan grandchildren of Don Juan de Moneada in La loca de la casa had a private teacher,<sup>153</sup> and in Halma the fortunate children of the Marques de Peramor had a governess, "la cual era inglesa, de edad madura, con rostro de pájaro disecado, buena persona, que sabía su oficio y cumplía muy bien, transmitiendo a las criaturas sus maneras finísimas, y sus tópicos de ciencia fácil para uso de familias bien acomodadas."<sup>154</sup> Each of these children had his English name, as did Daudet's Jack, seven or eight-year-old French child who also felt the sweep of English influence of the time.<sup>155</sup>

One year after he had set down the ideal educational aims for youth in El amigo Manso, Galdós continued the career of Felipe, the child in search of an education. The obscure hero of El doctor Centeno is, as Galdós says, "un señor como de trece o catorce años, en cuyo rostro la miseria y la salud, la abstinencia y el apetito, la risa y el llanto han confundido de tal modo sus diversas marcas y cifras, que no se sabe a cual de estos dueños pertenece."<sup>156</sup> Felipe, youngest child of a rude family in the mining district of Socartes, had known no childhood, but had been exhausted and exploited by his parents. Leblond speaks of the appearance of such children in society. "Ils...sont apparus comme étant presque toujours des sortes d'orphélins: quand

ils ont de la famille, ils sont accablés ou exploités par elle au lieu d'y trouver du soutien;..."<sup>157</sup> In character, Felipe has much of the "pure gold"<sup>158</sup> found in the person of Daudet's Jack. He is warm-hearted, generous, loyal, incapable of theft,<sup>159</sup> and, like Jack, deserving of a better fate. First met in Mariñela as he was setting out for Madrid, Felipe had high hopes of securing a master who would send him to school. The story becomes the drama of a child obliged to earn his own living and to meet situations with all the courage and tenacity of a man.

One month and a few days in the service of one tía Soplada had given Felipe a chance to attend school and learn enough about the letters to be able to read street signs and something of the newspapers.<sup>160</sup> Forced to leave this place, a chance meeting with the student Alejandro Miquis who befriends him, leads to Felipe's entrance into the school of Don Pedro Polo y Cortés, "capellán de las monjas de San Fernando."<sup>161</sup>

The second part of this novel, El doctor Centeno, is entitled Pedagogía. Felipe appears in the first real picture which Galdós presents of the actual school life of Spanish children, and of the bitter learning of the letter to the exclusion of the spirit. Galdós describes the pedagogical system of the time<sup>162</sup> along lines parallel to Dickens' Nicholas Nickleby.<sup>163</sup>

The school room itself was situated in an ancient



building which served both as the home of Polo's family and the school. It calls to mind the author's own "chamber of horrors",<sup>164</sup> for Galdós writes, "En la cavidad ancha, triste, pesada, jaquecosa de la escuela se veían cuadros terroríficos: allá un Nazareno puesto en cruz: aquí dos o tres mártires de rodillas con los calzones rotos; a esta parte, otro condenado pálido, cadavérico, todo lleno de coñjas y trasudores, porque se le había atragantado una suma..."<sup>165</sup>

The doors of the school opened at eight in the summer and nine in the winter, and the deafening noise of the opening endured until the master strode through the room distributing blows to the left and right.<sup>166</sup> Except for the half holiday every Thursday during the summer<sup>167</sup> "la clase duraba horas y más horas."<sup>168</sup> Galdós later refers to the "diez horas mortales"<sup>169</sup> spent there. (In El caballero encantado the author refers to summer as a time of vacations and to the winter term as being "escaso de días por el descuento de fiestas religiosas, patrióticas y palatinas."<sup>170</sup> This was a country school and probably had different customs.)

The incessant sound of blows accompanied all the processes of learning, for Polo's belief in La letra con sangre entra, the maxim of Spanish school masters<sup>171</sup> was reinforced by his other rule: "Siembra coscorrones y recogerás sabios."<sup>172</sup> Polo was brutal, not because he loved to watch children suffer, as did Squeers,<sup>173</sup> but because he wished to drive his learning deeper. This brutality to Eng-

lish children is treated by Scudder in his study of childhood in literature and art. He calls attention to the frequent incidents of cruelty to children in the old English ballads<sup>174</sup> and remarks, "This character is marked by a brutally murderous spirit, which lies scarcely concealed, today, in the temper of every English crowd."<sup>175</sup> Polo's honest desire to instill learning and his lack of interest in collecting the money from the students<sup>176</sup> also contrast strongly with the attitude of Daudet's Eurasian schoolmaster, Moronval, for whom, once the fees were received, "*L'éducation des élèves, leur bien-être, furent désormais le moindre de ses soucis.*"<sup>177</sup> Polo's zeal was not shared by his assistant, José Ido, a kindly but ineffective "*profesor de primera enseñanza*"<sup>178</sup> who taught writing and helped the younger children with their reading.

Like Cala, Galdós likens the school to a prison. "*Los capones y pellizcos, los palmetazos y nalgadas, las ampliaciones de orejas, aplastamiento de carrillos, vapuleo de huesos y maceración de carnes, no completaban el código penitenciario de Polo. Además de la pena infamante de las orejas de burro, había la de dejar sin comer.*"<sup>179</sup> Often tears fell upon the dirty pages of the worn books, but more frequently the children rebelled in other ways.<sup>180</sup> The complete lack of physical education in the elementary Spanish school systems, noted by Revilla,<sup>181</sup> is the cause of the almost insane joy of the children of the Polo school

upon their release at four or five in the afternoon after the ten mortal hours of "banco duro, de carpeta negra, de letras horribles, de encerrado fúnebre."<sup>182</sup>

Felipe's own education in the Polo household started well enough, but like the unhappy Pablillo, Felipe was clumsy and unskillful and made one blunder after another. The hideous mental and physical effort required to force his stiff fingers to form the letters was accompanied by blows and derisive words from Polo. The boy did well in reading, but like many another, he was lost when it came to definitions and grammar. Sacred History went a little better, although he was unable to memorize all the names of the individuals and the towns. In Christian Doctrine he failed dismally in his attempt to remember all the responses. Revilla wrote of the common situation: "Hasta ahora la instrucción del niño se ha fiado casi por completo a la memoria... Enseñanza irrisoria que puede formar papagayos, pero no hombres!"<sup>183</sup> The accomplishment of the school was a leveling of all natural talent in the merciless routine of grammatical instruction. The boy of genuine ability had no chance to show his superiority over the dullard who learned the words. Galdós' vigorous satire ridicules Polo's lack of discernment and even the gentle Ido advised Felipe to go back to carrying water "...que estas cosas no son para tí."<sup>184</sup>

A profound transformation was taking place in Felipe's character, for, seeing that his efforts came to nothing,

and that his hours of work increased while the hours of school lessened, he began to loiter on errands and became more and more convinced of his own inability to learn anything.<sup>185</sup> The only subject he really liked was Geography, and this reference seems to make Felipe share some of Galdós' own youthful interests,<sup>186</sup> but once he was severely punished for drawing a map and thus wasting his time.<sup>187</sup> No book nor schoolmaster had given him an answer to the questions which perplexed him: "¿...por qué las cosas, cuando se sueltan en el aire, caen al suelo; por qué el agua corre y no está quieta,... qué es esto de echar agua a los ojos cuando uno llora; qué significa el morirse,...?"<sup>188</sup> Felipe had time to ponder these "simples" for he had been denied his lunch that day.<sup>189</sup>

Like other young students in the novels of Galdós,<sup>190</sup> Felipe found it difficult to study in the evenings, and often the young "Doctor" slept peacefully with his head pillowed on the detested grammar "...porque pensar que él había de leer en la fementida Gramática, era pensar en lo imposible."<sup>191</sup>

The Polo school continued during the fiercely hot summer and "don José siguió funcionando durante la canícula y don Pedro administrando coscorriones."<sup>192</sup> In spite of all the bad treatment he received, Felipe could think no ill of Polo<sup>193</sup> even when the latter suddenly dismissed him from the school the boy felt deeply affected.<sup>194</sup>

The school itself was doomed to extinction. In Tormento appear the final words concerning it. "¿Qué fué de su escuela famosa...? ... Todo desapareció; llevóselo la trampa en el breve espacio de un año, quedando sólo de tantas grandezas, ruinas lastimosas."<sup>195</sup> There were other, kinder schools, for the irate parents removed their children, "poniéndoles en otra de procedimientos más benignos."<sup>196</sup> By pointing out the glaring educational faults, Galdós did for Spain what Dickens had for England in Nicholas Nickleby.<sup>197</sup>

Later, in the service of Alejandro Miquis, Felipe finds that he is still more of a work boy than a student.<sup>198</sup> When finally permitted to attend school, Felipe attempts the study of Latin. "La enseñanza primaria era en él tan incompleta como se ha visto; ¡pero qué importaba? Mejor."<sup>199</sup> Allowed scarcely three hours a day at the Institute, Felipe could not understand the use of Latin in his scheme of education.<sup>200</sup> Like the lower-form boys in English schools whose pathetic, traditional request was, "Please give me some sense",<sup>201</sup> Felipe dared to protest. "Yo quiero que me enseñen cosas, no esto..."<sup>202</sup> His condemnation of the prevailing system of education is like that of Montaigne<sup>203</sup> and Rousseau<sup>204</sup> for he voices the cardinal doctrine of the modern theory of education: that all knowledge has to do with real objects.<sup>205</sup> The fact that Felipe was not com-

pletely crushed, shows there was much elasticity left in the child. He made heroic efforts to learn the declensions even though the book served as a narcotic. "Le bastaba coger el libro para caerse de sueño."<sup>206</sup> At the same time his hunger for learning led him to examine carefully all the books belonging to older students. He regarded the medical books with "una especie de horror sagrado y curiosidad febril... Allí había vientres abiertos, tripas sanguinolentas,... Con el alma en los ojos Felipe leía los letreritos. Pancreas...estómago..."<sup>207</sup>

Felipe's school days are few, for Miquis, without money and very ill, has no means to send him, but the boy still dreams of becoming a doctor and even of performing an operation which would cure his master.<sup>208</sup> Affectionately, Miquis calls Felipe "Aristoteles."<sup>209</sup> Felipe's first chance to study a body comes when he performs an autopsy on Rosa Ido's dead cat. The stupid, blundering boy of Polo's grammar school is sure and skilful now. "Felipe estaba serio...Hasta entonces no se vieron en sus rasgos infantiles los firmes lineamentos del hombre...Hallábase tan poseído de un ardiente anhelo y de curiosidad tan abrasadora, que ni la voz de su amo le habría distraído en aquel momento. Sentado en la azotea, con el tieso animal entre las rodillas, sacó una navaja del bolsillo, y ¡zas! Ambrosio Pare, Servet, Andrés Vesale, ¿qué decís a esto?... Había en su espíritu misteriosas intuiciones de como había de proceder; antojábasele

que ya lo había hecho otra vez... No, no eran enteramente nuevos para él los goces de aquel sangriento juego... Si jamás lo hizo, sin duda lo había soñado."<sup>210</sup>

In the service of the wealthy Spaniard, Agustín Caballero of Tormento, little work is exacted of Felipe and he is sent to the Noviciado.<sup>211</sup> Felipe is again studying<sup>212</sup> and occasionally Caballero, himself without learning, would ask a question. Felipe says, "si la sé le contesto; pero casi siempre da la condenada casualidad de que yo también me pego, y nos quedamos los dos mirándonos el uno al otro."<sup>213</sup> In this novel, bearing out his old dream,<sup>214</sup> Felipe saves his first life by substituting something harmless for the potassium cyanide which the young would-be suicide, Amparo, had requested.<sup>215</sup>

The study of Felipe reaches the limit of the subject here, for Felipe is no longer a child. Indications given by Galdós hint that the boy's future may well be as successful as that of Teodoro Golfín, who endured like hardships when young.<sup>216</sup> Galdós has said of Felipe: "La geología había perdido una piedra y la sociedad había ganado un hombre"; Don Florencio, speaking of the child said, "Dice que ha venido de su pueblo a patita para meterse de [sic] médico. ¡No, no reírse, señores! Hay casos, hay casos... Éste apenas sabe leer; pero tiene una viveza..."<sup>217</sup> Lastly, the impressive picture of Felipe performing an actual operation seems to point to a certain future. But this speculation is aside

from Galdós' purpose, for his interest was not so much in what became of his child characters, as in the analysis of their persons and the completion of their purpose in the novel. Felipe has concluded his primary purpose of illustrating the evils of primary educational practices and in line with the new position of the child in society, has contributed his own point of view on the situation.

The little Bringas children go to a colegio but nothing is said of their experiences. Isabel's life there must have been agreeable, for on account of her health, "la maestra tenía orden de no imponerle ningún castigo ni exigir de ella aplicación y trabajo."<sup>218</sup> She is, however, receiving the indispensable barniz by taking private lessons.<sup>219</sup>

Elementary education is not treated in detail in Fortunata y Jacinta, although something of it is seen in the description of the childhood of grown characters. Barbara, mother of Juan de Santa Cruz, "cuando tuvo edad para ello, fué a la escuela de una tal doña Calixta, sita en la calle Imperial"<sup>210</sup> and there she completed her education, which, as Galdós says, "era harto sencillo en aquellos tiempos, y consistía en leer sin acento, escribir sin ortografía, contar haciendo trempetitas con la boca y bordar..."<sup>221</sup> Barbara's real education came later when she helped her son with his lessons.<sup>222</sup> Of the numerous children of Gumersindo Arnáiz, "las más pequeñas y los varoncitos iban a la escuela



la,"<sup>223</sup> and Jacinta, always interested in children, would watch "una bandada que iba al colegio con sus pizarras al hombro y el lío de libros llenos de mugre."<sup>224</sup> In this novel also are mentioned Guillermina Pacheco's thriving orphan asylums where children could "educarse y ser buenos cristianos."<sup>225</sup> Experience had taught her that "la falta de educación es para el pobre una desventaja mayor que la pobreza."<sup>226</sup>

In Miau Galdós has given another view of the mad rush of escaping children at the end of the school day. "A las cuatro de la tarde, la chiquillería de la escuela pública de la plazuela del Limón salió atropelladamente de clase, con algarazara de mil demonios."<sup>227</sup> English poets who had interested themselves in children had found in this subject a poetic theme. As Babenroth wrote, "Some of the most exhilarating lines in the early poems picture the delight of little children just out of school. To illustrate the mad scamper of the freed pack from the kennel, Wordsworth in The Prelude recalls the 'noisy crew.' In The Excursion he carries on the traditional figure of unwilling inmates of the schoolroom and their glad release. In The Schoolmistress, children run pell-mell from school."<sup>228</sup> Goldsmith's Deserted Village mentions "The playful children just let loose from school..."<sup>229</sup> Also thinking poetically, Galdós writes, "Ningún himno a la libertad, entre los muchos que se han compuesto en las diferentes naciones, es tan her-

moso como el que entonan los oprimidos de la enseñanza elemental al soltar el grillete de la disciplina escolar y echarse a la calle piando y saltando."<sup>230</sup>

Forming a contrast in types, Galdós has Luis Cadalso, a small boy of eight or ten and timid and backward object of the ridicule and scorn of his playmates, talk with Silvestre Murillo, who presents a perfect picture of the usual school boy "muy cargado de libros, la pizarra a la espalda, el pantalón hecho una pura rodillera, el calzado con tragaluces, boina azul en la pelona..y era el chico más aplicado de la escuela y el amigo mejor que Cadalso tenía en ella."<sup>231</sup>

Luisito, or Miau, as he is derisively nicknamed, was a lonely, pathetic little boy badly armed for life, although he was no coward.<sup>232</sup> He was strongly attracted to religion, sharing something of the mystic tendency of another Galdosian namesake of the great sixteenth century mystic, Fray Luis de León, (In León Roch, Luis Gonzaga, pale mystic youth who disappeared early from the earthly scene,<sup>233</sup> and in La de Bringas as one of Milagros' children, "aquel Luisito tan místico que parecía un aprendiz de santo."<sup>234</sup>) Galdós' good practical sense probably protected him, as it did Balzac,<sup>235</sup> from any excess of that form, for he shows that constant hunger and the epileptic tendency of the family may have formed the basis of the strange dreams or visions of Cadalso in which God appeared as the chief figure. The dreams seem a sort of idealization of the secret companions,

"les Invisibles"<sup>236</sup> of the ordinary solitary child.

The visions occur to Luis on the street,<sup>237</sup> in his sleep,<sup>238</sup> in the esplanade of the Conde-Duque,<sup>239</sup> and on a bench in the hall of Congress.<sup>240</sup> At other times, Luis frequents the church, anxious for more communion with the celestial figure.<sup>241</sup> In his dream God is well aware that Luis is not a good student and that he had failed to learn his grammar lesson.<sup>242</sup> There comes to mind in this connection, the figure of the English prose writer, Thomas de Quincy, who would not have wondered at Cadalso's dreams. Himself a solitary dreamer, De Quincy wrote, "God speaks to children, also in dreams and by the oracles that lurk in darkness. But in solitude, above all things when made vocal by the truths and services of a national church, God holds communion undisturbed with children..."<sup>243</sup> Through the visions, God had a direct influence for good in Cadalso's school work and also gave the child glimpses of the future which enabled him to view prophetically the family affairs.<sup>244</sup>

Like Felipe, Papitos, and the rest, Cadalso attempted to study at night. His books present the same appearance as those of the other children.<sup>245</sup> "Estaban los infelices tan estropeados, cual si hubieran servido de proyectiles en furioso combate; las hojas retorcidas, los picos de las cubiertas doblados o rotos, la pasta con pegajosa mugre."<sup>246</sup> Grammar, "el impío y bárbaro estudio"<sup>247</sup> seems to have been

the especial bane of the school boy's existence. Galdós refers to it as "la fementida Gramática"<sup>248</sup> and "la abominable Gramática."<sup>249</sup> Even when Cadalso chose a book quite at random to begin his study, "¡Contro, siempre salía la condenada Gramática!"<sup>250</sup> He had a tussle with the definition of an adverb "pero Cadalso no lograba enterarse de ello claramente..."<sup>251</sup> and like Felipe,<sup>252</sup> fell asleep with his head on the grammar.<sup>253</sup> His grandfather tried to help him memorize the useless rules and definitions, but often a headache or illness prevented Cadalso's study.<sup>254</sup>

Luis' interested reaction to object teaching was, however, instantaneous and intelligent. His father had bought him some stamps. "Victor le explicó la distribución de las hojas del album enseñándole a reconocer la nacionalidad de los sellos. 'Mira, esta tía frescachona es la República francesa. Esta señora con corona y bandós es la Reina de Inglaterra, y esta águila con dos cabezas, Alemania. Los vas poniendo en su sitio, y ahora la que has de hacer es reunir muchos para llenar los huecos todos.' El pequeñuelo estaba encantado..."<sup>255</sup>

In the schoolroom itself, Cadalso is a victim of the schoolmaster who ridiculed him before the other students and made him sit in the last seat as a sign of his ignorance and lack of application.<sup>256</sup> At eleven o'clock, during the writing lesson, Cadalso is guilty of distracting the class, and in addition to the physical blows he received,

the teacher says, "Miau es un hipócrita!... Cadalso no supo contener su aflicción oyendo en boca de D. Celedonio el injurioso apodo."<sup>257</sup> A teacher of this type, Louttit says, fosters the high-speed development of behavior difficulties in a crude but very effective manner.<sup>258</sup> Cadalso's answer demonstrates the truth of the psychological observation. "Se lo voy a decir a mi abuelo..y no vengo más a esta escuela."<sup>259</sup>

As Galdós shows in this study, and later psychological studies emphasize,<sup>260</sup> a child's health is of the greatest importance in his behavior. Malnourished and ill, Cadalso often tried to study, but was prevented by headaches. After such an evening "al día siguiente costó trabajo levantarlo. Sentíase quebrantado, y como si hubiese andado largo trecho por sitio desconocido y lejano, que no podía recordar. Fué a la escuela, y no se supo la lección."<sup>261</sup>

In addition to the problem of his health, which is recognized as a significant factor in his behavior, Cadalso is often prevented from attending school by having to serve as messenger boy for his grandfather.<sup>262</sup> Additional family factors affecting his behavior were the return of his unwelcome father<sup>263</sup> and the solicitude of an aunt who really had his welfare at heart and encouraged his physical development. She says, "No estudies, corazón, que lo que quieren es secarte los sesitos. No hagas caso; tiempo

tienes de echar talento. Ahora come, come mucho, engorda y juega, corre y diviértete todo lo que te pida el cuerpo." <sup>264</sup>

The emphasis on these family relationships as causes influencing Cadalso's conduct shows Galdós was conscious of the importance of such factors. Louttit says that subtle emotional relationships between members of the family are often significantly involved in a child's behavior. <sup>265</sup>

The grandfather Villamil, however, recognizes the kindly interest of the aunt and one of his last thoughts on his way to commit suicide is that the boy will receive a better education at her hands than at those of the Villamils. <sup>266</sup>

Luis' sensitive conscience somehow connects the failure of his grandfather to find a position with his own failure to study. "No le colocan- pensaba, -porque yo no estudio..." <sup>267</sup> Galdós recognized the psychological point when he comments, "Luis, como niño, asociaba las ideas imperfectamente, pero las asociaba, poniendo siempre <sup>ENTRE</sup> ellas afinidades extrañas sugeridas por su inocencia." <sup>268</sup> In this very same year Daudet's Petit Chose experienced a similar guilt feeling when he associated his brother's death with his own failure to return home from school on time. <sup>269</sup>

In Torquemada en la hoguera, there is the picture of the twelve-year-old Valentín, child prodigy who is the "asombro de la escuela, y orgullo y gala de los maestros." <sup>270</sup> In the school of primera y segunda enseñanza Grammar held no terrors for him, "pero la Geografía la dominaba como

un hombre."<sup>271</sup> His night studying was accomplished with ease and facility, but it was not until he reached the age of the segunda enseñanza (commonly attained at nine or ten years of age, or perhaps eight, according to Revilla<sup>272</sup>) that his full powers were revealed. Fortunate above all other scholars, and like the gifted six-year-old Sabas of Ángel Guerra whose choir master "se hacía cruces, porque en poniéndose a enseñarle algo, resultaba que ya el chico lo sabía",<sup>273</sup> Valentín "no aprendía las cosas, las sabía ya."<sup>274</sup> The boy's talent soon removed him from the ordinary classrooms to receive special instruction from other masters.<sup>275</sup>

No school children are shown in Realidad, but Galdós has not forgotten the subject of primary instruction, and has occasion to refer to "todo ese estúpido farrago de instrucción primaria que le meten a uno en el cuerpo antes de poder distinguir racionalmente el mal del bien."<sup>276</sup>

In Ángel Guerra, Justina's older children go to school. The older boy, Ildefonso, is found to be "bastante flojo" in History when Guerra questions him.<sup>277</sup> In the asilo which Guerra hopes to found, Casado says, "no faltaran biberones para los primeros y escuela para los segundos."<sup>278</sup>

In Tristana the children from the Hospicio of Madrid are met for the first time. The institution had been mentioned in La sombra in connection with the funeral customs in which children took part<sup>279</sup> and again in Fortunata y Jacinta when the careless Santa Cruz recommended that

Pitusín be sent there. An idea of their treatment of children may be obtained from Jacinta's horrified comments.

"En el Hospicio! -exclamó Jacinta...!para que me le manden a los entierros...y le den de comer aquellas bozofías!"<sup>280</sup>

Jacinta later adds a little more description of these hapless children. "...le pondremos en casa de Candelaria...

Porque lo que es al Hospicio no va. Eso que no lo piensen ... ¡qué cosas se le ocurren a mi madrido! Ya, como a él no le han hecho ir nunca a los entierros, pisando lodos, aguantando la lluvia y el frío, le parece muy natural que el otro pobrecito se críe entre ataúdes..."<sup>281</sup>

Saturpa, the poor servant woman in Tristana, leaves her boy in the Hospicio while she works, but visits him on Sundays during play hours. There is a momentary view of the "doble cuerda de presos"<sup>282</sup> before it breaks up into happy meetings with relatives and in play.<sup>283</sup> "Comunmente, al llegar la caterva de chiquillos a un lugar convenido en las calles nuevas de Chamberí, les dan el rompan-filas, y se ponen a jugar. Allí les aguardan ya las madres, abuelas o tías (del que las tiene) con el pañuelito de naranjas, cacahuètes, avellanas, bolos o men-drugos de pan. Algunos corretean y brincan jugando a la toña; otros se pean a los grupos de mujeres."<sup>284</sup> These children are not shown inside the institution, nor at study, but they do receive some instruction and care there, and present another glimpse of children free for a little



while from the "encerrado fúnebre."<sup>284</sup> bis

At the same spot groups of defective children draw the attention of Galdós. As the youngsters from the Hospicio play, they meet "viniendo de la Castellana, los sordomudos, en grupos de mudo y ciego,... En cada pareja, los ojos del mudo valían al ciego para poder andar sin tropezones; se entendían por el tacto con tan endiabladas garatusas, que causaba maravilla verles hablar... Gracias a la precisión de aquel lenguaje, enteráronse pronto los ciegos de que allí estaban los hospicianos. Detuviéronse allí, y por un momento reinó la fraternidad entre unos y otros... Los ciegos, no pudiendo tomar parte en ningún juego, se apartaban desconsolados. Algunos se permitían sonreír como si vieran, llegando al conocimiento de las cosas por el velocísimo teclear de los dedos."<sup>285</sup> These passages have been used to again show Galdós' interest in all classes of children.

Indirect reference to the education of children occurs in La loca de la casa when Victoria imposes as one of the conditions of her return to her husband, Cruz, that he finance the erection of two schools for children.

In her country place at Pedralba, the Condesa de Halma-Lautenberg, of Halma, is organizing a school for children where all the grown-ups take turns at teaching. On Thursday Nazarín explained the Doctrine to the children

and as he neared the building "ya los rumores de algarazas infantil anunciaban que la familia menuda se reunía en la sala provisionalmente destinada a escuela."<sup>287</sup> On another day, "Los chicos, después de dar la lección con Halma, se fueron a jugar...en el campo fronterero a la casa de abajo."<sup>288</sup> Evidently this is a free school in a home-like atmosphere, conducted under beneficent religious influences and kindly supervision.

The older girls of Ismael and Rosaura Vives in Cassandra go to a colegio and are shown getting ready for school in the morning. The bustling about of the children as they prepare to leave and the teasing by the older boys forms a lively and natural scene. The servant carries the basket of lunch, for they spend the entire day at the school.<sup>289</sup> During the course of the conversations Arithmetic and Sacred History are mentioned and the smallest child, a five-year-old girl says, "En el colegio estoy dando ahora el Viejo Testamento..."<sup>290</sup>

The first school of the school mistress Pascualita or Cintia, of El caballero encantado, is in the horrible and poverty-stricken town of Calatanazor where the school house was painted "de ocre."<sup>291</sup> As was customary, the children studied aloud and the noise could be heard outside the building. Little boys and girls were learning to spell: "Be, a, ene - ban."<sup>292</sup> Cintia is a true teacher, and recognizes it saying, "He descubierto que sirvo para

educar niños y encender en ellos las primeras luces del conocimiento."<sup>293</sup> She is so beloved by the pupils that they refuse to let her leave the town.<sup>294</sup>

In la razón de la sinrazón the lovely school mistress, Atenaida, has been a director of a school for eighty girls in Toledo<sup>295</sup> and is described as "antaño educadora de niñas pobres, hogano de niñas ricas, y tan activa que no conoce la ociosidad."<sup>296</sup> With her lover Alejandro, she goes to Campo de la Vera in order to practice her belief that "la verdadera santidad consiste en cultivar la tierra para extraer de ella los elementos de vida, y cultivar los cerebros vírgines."<sup>297</sup> Upon his death, Don Juan de Valtierra leaves Atenaida in charge and possession of a magnificent school with room for more than three hundred students of both sexes.<sup>298</sup>

How different the summer school scene is here from that of the infernal Polo school in the city of Madrid! "Equinoccio de verano... Muchedumbre de niños de ambos sexos....a la derecha, la escuela, rodeada de frondosos árboles frutales y de amenos boscajes de mirto y laurel ...Terminada una serie de estudios elementales Atenaida da libertad a los niños para que se solacen en los amenos vergeles que rodean la escuela. Salen las criaturas marcando el compás con ritmo bullanguero y docente. El santo Pajón les conduce, y contiene con suaves amonestaciones a los que se desmandan. Del ramaje florido se desprende

sonata rumorosa de pájaros que charlan y niños que trinan." <sup>299</sup>

The school seems a Pestalozzian institution of the best kind. As Barnard says, "...that is, of institutions organized on the basis, and in the spirit of the family, with agricultural employment as the principal means of industrial training, and with methods of instruction, moral, intellectual and physical, so far as applied, good enough for any class of society..."<sup>300</sup>

Atenaida describes the ideal instruction the children receive: "Sabrá usted que los niños comen y meriendan aquí y se van a dormir a sus casas, después de haber recibido la enseñanza elemental y el conocimiento práctico de cuanto constituye la vida humana. Presencian la siembra del grano, la recolección; ven el trigo en las eras, en el molino; y como tenemos tahona en la casa, se hacen cargo de las transformaciones de las mies hasta convertirse en pan. Saben como se hace el vino, el aceite, los quesos, el carbón, y conocen las manipulaciones del lino desde que se arranca de la tierra hasta que se convierte en la tela que visten."<sup>301</sup>

By this means, without the children realizing it, or being confined for long hours within four walls, they learn Arithmetic, "nociones de Física, Historia Natural, Geografía, y cuanto es menester para la preparación de los distintos oficios o carreras a que han de dedicarse, según la

vocación de cada cual."<sup>302</sup>

In this last novel of Galdós there are no individual children. No naughty little Pitusín nor perplexed Felipe stands out in the mass of three hundred children who play happily around the model school. They have disappeared in the Galdosian ideal of good education for all children. As Casaldüero notes of a preceding novel, "lo cierto es que hay una diferencia de tono clarísima entre su manera de posturarlo en sus primeras obras y en El caballero encantado. Antes, el acento era individualista, ahora es social, nacional..."<sup>303</sup>

According to Berkowitz, it is conceivable that "the critique of education enunciated by novelist Pérez Galdós had its inception in the big brain of little Benito Pérez during the dreary hours he spent in the chamber of horrors on Calle Mendizabal."<sup>304</sup> The impression he received was a deep one, for primary education continued to interest him over a period of forty years of his novelistic life and the period of greatest interest coincided with the prime of his life.

Since approximately one-half of Spain's people were illiterate, the problem of elementary instruction was a matter of vital importance. By persistent calling of attention to the schools' faults, Galdós sought to improve them and bring about a reform not by revolutionary changes in institutions, but by spiritual and intellectual re-

orientation of human beings.<sup>305</sup>

Galdós interested himself in children of both sexes, and while he showed that the boys' education was impractical and inadequate, the girls' is shown to have been almost entirely useless. The calling of teaching, held in low esteem in Spain, attracted, with a few ideal exceptions, miserably ignorant and cruel teachers. The picture seemed very dark, and yet in Galdós one may see that those who endured the experience of early schooling - those who were privileged to endure the experience - gained, and were better off than those who had no opportunity to suffer it. The institution was, therefore, in itself, good and indispensable, and, for Galdós, every child, in the words of Serafina in Gloria, was born worthy "de ser amado y educado."<sup>306</sup>

Galdós was a pioneer in this field in the novel, but he had powerful friends in other professions to encourage him. The whole Galdosian idea of primary education could not be better summed up than in these words of Giner de los Ríos: "...la escuela, esa escuela primaria, la del pobre, la del pueblo, la de todos, tiene que tomar sobre sí la dirección de la evolución individual, de la formación íntegra del hombre, no reducirse a los informes y noticias más indispensables para no quedarse fuera de su tiempo, ni a adaptarlo a éste, y menos a hostigar su memoria, sino despertar y orientar e intensificar las potencias todas de su ser..."<sup>307</sup>

Galdós' attitude toward the subject is optimistic, he envisages a future in which school methods become active, practical and personal. The real note of importance, however, with Galdós, is always the child. Spanish children are shown to possess all the necessary intellectual and other inherent qualities to make them capable of receiving and benefitting from education. For a while small figures, like Felipe, might plead for learning in an ignorant adult world which often hindered and blinded children to their own capabilities, but the matter of training could be improved and bring about model schools like the Valtierra school in La razón de la sinrazón. The theme upon which Galdós had insisted from the beginning of his novel writing career finds its climax in this last novel. At long last children are being taught cosas and the school mistress is a young and beautiful woman, who "sin presumir de sabia, lo es."<sup>308</sup> Happy, healthy children are receiving practical knowledge of everything that concerns human life. The "prodigiosa enseñanza"<sup>309</sup> they are enjoying was for everyone. It must have seemed, as Galdós wrote on another occasion, "el final obligado de todo cuento infantil: 'Después de tantos trabajos y fatigas, recibíóles el Rey en su corte, les colmó de favores y obsequios, y todos fueron tan felices.'"<sup>310</sup>

## NOTES

1. Galdós, El doctor Centeno, I, Madrid, 1905, p. 158.
2. H. Chonon Berkowitz, Pérez Galdós, Spanish Liberal Crusader, Madison, 1948, p. 29.
3. Francisco Giner de los Ríos, Estudios de literatura y arte, Madrid, 1919, p. 52.
4. Galdós, El amigo Manso, Madrid, 1910, p. 88.
5. Galdós, Tormento, Madrid, 1906, p. 8.
6. Galdós, Fortunata y Jacinta, I, Madrid, 1915, p. 421.
7. Galdós, El caballero encantado, Madrid, 1909, p. 273.
8. Marius-Ary Leblond, L'idéal du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle, Paris, 1909, p. 32.
9. Giner de los Ríos, pp. 127-28.
10. Ibid., p. 10.
11. Ibid., p. 69.
12. Galdós, La desheredada, I, Madrid, 1909, p. 57.
13. El doctor Centeno, II, p. 172.
14. Berkowitz, p. 24.
15. D. Ramón Cala, "Estudios sociales: los niños," La revista de España, V. XXXVIII, Madrid, 1874, p. 202.
16. Henry Barnard, Pestalozzi and Pestalozzianism, New York, 1862, p. 16.
17. D. Ramón Cala, p. 200.
18. Giner de los Ríos, pp. 60-61.
19. Max Müller, "La educación como un deber de la nación," La revista contemporánea, V. I, 1876, p. 332-41.



20. Francisco de Asís Pacheco, "Un sistema de educación nacional," La revista contemporánea, V. II, 1877, pp. 468-82 and V. XIII, 1878, pp. 344-46.
21. M. de la Revilla, "De las reformas necesarias en la instrucción pública española," La revista contemporánea, V. XXI, 1880, pp. 173-87.
22. Tomás Lozano, "La instrucción en España y en los Estados Unidos de América," La revista de España, V. LII, 1878, pp. 397-407.
23. Manuel Quejana Toro, "La enseñanza pública," La revista de España, V. XLVI, 1875, pp. 185-86.
24. La ilustración española y americana, "Escuela central de párvulos denominada 'Jardines de la infancia,'" V.I, 1879, Madrid, p. 359.
25. Don Modesto Fernández y González, "La educación popular," La ilustración española y americana, V.II, 1881, p. 62.
26. M. Laboulaye, "La educación nacional por medio del ejército," La revista europea, V. I, 1874, p. 203.
27. Lozano, p. 401.
28. Ibid., p. 399.
29. Max Müller, p. 341.
30. Joaquín Casaldueiro, Vida y obra de Galdós, Buenos Aires, 1943, p. 14.
31. Berkowitz, p. 149.
32. Fernando de los Ríos, El pensamiento vivo de Giner, Buenos Aires, 1949, p. 111.

33. Barnard, p. 27.
34. Giner de los Ríos, p. 127.
35. Lozano, pp. 397-407.
36. P. Estassen, "La crisis," La revista contemporánea, V. XIV, 1878, p. 484.
37. M. de la Revilla, p. 178.
38. F.M. Kercheville, "Galdós and the New Humanism," Modern Language Quarterly, V. XVI, 1932, p. 487.
39. Giner de los Ríos, p. 89.
40. Galdós, Misericordia, Madrid, 1897, p. 12.
41. Galdós, Nazarín, Buenos Aires, 1943, p. 182.
42. Galdós, Torquemada en la cruz, Madrid, 1916, p. 268.
43. Galdós, La fontana de oro, Buenos Aires, 1943, p. 54.
44. M. de la Revilla, p. 294.
45. Berkowitz, pp. 24, 26.
46. Fernando de los Ríos, p. 23.
47. La desheredada, I, p. 245.
48. El doctor Centeno, Part II, Pedagogía, p. 57...
49. Galdós, Kian, Madrid, 1907, p. 81.
50. Ibid., p. 86.
51. Giner de los Ríos, p. 82.
52. Fortunata y Jacinta, I, pp. 263-65.
53. Ibid., I, p. 307.
54. Ibid., I, p. 255.
55. Torquemada en la Cruz, p. 10.
56. Nazarín, pp. 33-34.
57. El caballero encantado, p. 219.

58. Ibid., p. 277.
59. Ibid., p. 303.
60. M. de la Revilla, p. 181.
61. P. Estassen, p. 433.
62. El amigo Manso, pp. 303, 310.
63. Giner de los Ríos, p. 102.
64. El doctor Centeno, I, p. 66.
65. D. Ramón Cala, p. 202.
66. La fontana de oro, p. 54.
67. Ibid., p. 54.
68. D. Ramón Cala, p. 203.
69. La fontana de oro, p. 54.
70. Ibid., p. 55.
71. Ibid., p. 227.
72. Cesar Barja, "Algunas Novelas españolas recientes,"  
Bulletin of Spanish Studies, V. V, 1928, p. 70.
73. Galdós, Cassandra, Madrid, 1942, p. 196.
74. La fontana de oro, pp. 51-53.
75. Ibid., p. 58.
76. Galdós, El audaz, Madrid, 1907, p. 263.
77. La desheredada, II, p. 115.
78. La de Bringas, p. 72.
79. Galdós, Ángel Guerra, II, Madrid, 1891, pp. 193, 265.
80. Galdós, Halma, Madrid, 1913, p. 105.
81. Galdós, La razón de la sinrazón, Madrid, 1915, p. 401.
82. Revilla, p. 185.

83. E. Erickson, "The Influence of Charles Dickens on the Novels of Benito Pérez Galdós," Hispania, V. XIX, 1936, p. 424.
84. El audaz, p. 314.
85. Ibid., p. 96.
86. Dorothy G. Park and Hilaric Saenz, "Galdós' Ideas on Education," Hispania, V. XXVII, 1944, p. 145.
87. Galdós, Doña Perfecta, Buenos Aires, 1942, p. 43.
88. La fontana de oro, p. 56.
89. Galdós, Gloria, Madrid, 1900, pp. 28-29.
90. M. de la Revilla, p. 179.
91. Ibid., pp. 181-82.
92. Gloria, p. 29.
93. Ibid., pp. 41-42.
94. Revilla, p. 302.
95. Galdós, Marianela, Buenos Aires, 1941, p. 124.
96. Galdós, La familia de León Roch, I, Madrid, 1920, p.40.
97. Ibid., I, p. 80.
98. Ibid., I, p. 85.
99. Ibid., I, pp. 136-37.
100. La desheredada, I, pp. 160,201, and II, p. 179.
101. Fortunata y Jacinta, II, p. 75.
102. D. Ramón Cala, p. 205.
103. La desheredada, I, p. 245.
104. El doctor Centeno, Part II.
105. Fernando de los Ríos, p. 141.

106. El doctor Centeno, II, p. 144.
107. Tormento, p. 52.
108. Ibid., p. 162.
109. Fortunata y Jacinta, I, p. 40.
110. Ibid., p. 144.
111. Ibid., p. 161.
112. Galdós, La incógnita, Madrid, 1906, p. 21.
113. Galdós, Tristana, Madrid, 1892, p. 30.
114. Ibid., p. 104.
115. M. de la Revilla, p. 187.
116. Torquemada en la cruz, p. 36.
117. Albert Thibaudet, "Fathers and Children in the Novel," London Mercury, V.X, 1924, p. 83.
118. Marianela, p. 31.
119. Ibid., p. 90.
120. Ibid., p. 89.
121. Ibid., p. 126.
122. Ibid., p. 126.
123. La familia de León Roch, I, p. 140.
124. C.M. Louttit, Clinical Psychology of Children's Behavior Problems, New York, 1947, p. 157.
125. La desheredada, I, p. 237.
126. Ibid., II, p. 47.
127. D. Ramón Cala, pp. 203-04.
128. El doctor Centeno, II, p. 172.
129. Tormento, p. 17.
130. Ibid., p. 52.

131. Miau, p. 7.
132. Galdós, Torquemada en la hoguera, Madrid, 1898, p.27.
133. Ángel Guerra, II, pp. 88-90.
134. Ibid., II, p. 46.
135. El caballero encantado, p. 347.
136. Fortunata y Jacinta, I, pp. 307-08.
137. El doctor Centeno, p. 225.
138. Torquemada en la hoguera, p. 26.
139. Ibid., p. 26.
140. Park and Saenz, p. 145.
141. El amigo Manso, p. 24.
142. Ibid., p. 98.
143. Ibid., p. 112.
144. W. Freyer, Die Seele des Kindes, Leipzig, 1884, pp. 46-47.
145. El amigo Manso, p. 113.
146. Ibid., p. 293.
147. Ibid., p.300.
148. El doctor Centeno, II, pp. 137, 238.
149. Galdós, Lo prohibido, II, Madrid, 1906, p. 104.
150. Fortunata y Jacinta, I, p. 194.
151. Ángel Guerra, I, p. 213.
152. Ibid., III, p. 186.
153. Federico Carlos Sainz de Robles, Obras completas de Benito Pérez Galdós, V.V, Madrid, 1942, p. 1679.
154. Halma, p. 42.
155. Alphonse Daudet, Jack, Paris, n.d., p. 5.

156. El doctor Centeno, I, p. 6.
157. Marius-Ary Leblond, La société française sous la troisième république d'après les romanciers contemporains, Paris, 1905, p. 32.
158. R. Grey, "Certain Boys of Daudet," The Fortnightly Review, V. CXX, 1923, p. 797.
159. El doctor Centeno, II, p. 205.
160. Ibid., I, p. 23.
161. Ibid., I, p. 38.
162. Casaldueiro, p. 72.
163. Effie L. Erickson, "The Influence of Charles Dickens on the Novels of Benito Pérez Galdós," Hispania, V. XIX, 1936, p. 428.
164. Berkowitz, p. 26.
165. El doctor Centeno, I, pp. 60-61.
166. Ibid., I, pp. 57-58.
167. Ibid., I, p. 151.
168. Ibid., I, p. 60.
169. Ibid., I, p. 72.
170. El caballero encantado, p. 61.
171. Francisco de Asís Pacheco, p. 468.
172. El doctor Centeno, I, p. 63.
173. Erickson, p. 428.
174. Horace E. Scudder, Childhood in Literature and Art, New York, p. 106.
175. Ibid., p. 111.
176. El doctor Centeno, I, pp. 74-75.

177. Jack, p. 52.
178. Fortunata y Jacinta, I, p. 263.
179. El doctor Centeno, I, p. 71.
180. Ibid., I, p. 72.
181. M. de la Revilla, p. 185.
182. El doctor Centeno, I, p. 72.
183. M. de la Revilla, p. 184.
184. El doctor Centeno, I, p. 88.
185. Ibid., I, pp. 92, 115.
186. Berkowitz, p. 46. This author writes that Galdós, in the year of 1862 at the University of Madrid, received a grade of sobresaliente in Geography.
187. El doctor Centeno, I, p. 90.
188. Ibid., I, p. 93.
189. Ibid., p. 94.
190. Fortunata y Jacinta, II, p. 20 and Miau, p. 42.
191. El doctor Centeno, I, p. 107.
192. Ibid., I, p. 121.
193. Ibid., I, p. 150.
194. Ibid., I, p. 156.
195. Tormento, p. 110.
196. Ibid., p. 111.
197. Park and Saenz, p. 141.
198. El doctor Centeno, II, p. 29.
199. Ibid., II, p. 29.
200. Ibid., II, p. 30.



201. A.C. Babenroth, English Childhood, New York, 1922, p. 180.
202. El doctor Centeno, II, p. 30.
203. Francisco de Asís Pacheco, p. 470.
204. Ed. Calparède, "Las ideas pedagógicas de Rousseau y el concepto funcional de la infancia," Boletín de la institución libre de enseñanza, T. XXXVIII, 1914, pp. 5-6.
205. James Sully, Outlines of Psychology, New York, 1888, p. 298.
206. El doctor Centeno, II, p. 30.
207. Ibid., II, pp. 31-32.
208. Ibid., II, p. 184.
209. Ibid., II, p. 196.
210. Ibid., II, pp. 192-93.
211. Tormento, p. 87.
212. Ibid., p. 89.
213. Ibid., p. 90.
214. Marianela, p. 92.
215. Tormento, p. 289.
216. Marianela, pp. 77-78.
217. El doctor Centeno, I, p. 39.
218. La de Brincas, p. 39.
219. Tormento, p. 184.
220. Fortunata y Jacinta, I, p. 35.
221. Ibid., I, p. 40.
222. Ibid., I, p. 56.
223. Ibid., I, p. 70.

224. Ibid., I, p. 194.
225. Ibid., I, p. 222.
226. Ibid., I, p. 226.
227. Miau, p. 5.
228. Babenroth, p. 61.
229. Oliver Goldsmith, the Miscellaneous Works of, ed.  
Washington Irving, Philadelphia, 1937, p. 154.
230. Miau, p. 5.
231. Ibid., pp. 6-7.
232. Ibid., pp. 81-82.
233. La familia de León Roch, I, p. 191...
234. La de Bringas, p. 32.
235. Victor M. Leathers, L'Espagne et les espagnols dans  
l'oeuvre de Balzac, Paris, 1931, p. 114.
236. Edouard Maynial, "Les tendances nouvelles du roman  
contemporain: Part III, Les romans de l'enfance et  
les confessions féminines," Cronique des lettres  
françaises, T. I, 1923, p. 314. (Also Louttit, p.  
511, on dream companions.)
237. Miau, p. 27.
238. Ibid., pp. 46, 383.
239. Ibid., p. 35.
240. Ibid., p. 232.
241. Ibid., p. 222.
242. Ibid., pp. 30-31.
243. Thomas De Quincy, Suspiria de Profundis, V.I, New  
York, 1876, p. 188.

244. Miau, p. 403.
245. El doctor Centeno, I, p. 72; Fortunata y Jacinta, II, p. 90; Ángel Guerra, II, p. 41.
246. Miau, p. 40.
247. El doctor Centeno, I, p. 106.
248. Ibid., I, p. 107.
249. Ibid., II, p. 30.
250. Miau, p. 40.
251. Ibid., pp. 40-41.
252. El doctor Centeno, I, p. 109.
253. Miau, pp. 41-42.
254. Ibid., p. 76.
255. Ibid., p. 176.
256. Ibid., p. 78.
257. Ibid., p. 80.
258. Louittit, p. 149.
259. Miau, p. 81.
260. Louittit, p. 70.
261. Miau, p. 78.
262. Ibid., p. 65.
263. Ibid., p. 92.
264. Ibid., p. 137.
265. Louittit, p. 415.
266. Miau, p. 407.
267. Ibid., p. 160.
268. Ibid., p. 159.
269. Alphonse Daudet, Le petit chose, Paris, 1888, p. 27.

270. Torquemada en la hoguera, p. 16.
271. Ibid., p. 23.
272. M. de la Revilla, p. 294.
273. Ángel Guerra, I, p. 206.
274. Torquemada en la hoguera, p. 24.
275. Ibid., p. 27.
276. Caldós, Realidad, Madrid, 1889, p. 260.
277. Ángel Guerra, II, p. 116.
278. Ibid., III, p. 297.
279. Caldós, La sombra, Madrid, 1909, p. 150.
280. Fortunata y Jacinta, I, p. 445.
281. Ibid., I, p. 452.
282. Tristana, p. 48.
283. Ibid., p. 48.
284. Ibid., p. 47.
- 284 bis. El doctor Centeno, I, p. 72.
285. Tristana, pp. 49-50.
286. Sainz de Robles, Obras completas, p. 1719.
287. Halma, p. 276.
288. Ibid., p. 305.
289. Cassandra, p. 164.
290. Ibid., p. 166.
291. El caballero encantado, p. 189.
292. Ibid., p. 191.
293. Ibid., p. 190.
294. Ibid., p. 199.

- 295. La razón de la sinrazón, p. 353.
- 296. Ibid., p. 356.
- 297. Ibid., p. 400.
- 298. Ibid., p. 401.
- 299. Ibid., p. 401.
- 300. Barnard, p. 11.
- 301. La razón de la sinrazón, p. 401.
- 302. Ibid., p. 401.
- 303. Casaldueiro, p. 164.
- 304. Berkowitz, p. 26.
- 305. Ibid., p. 92.
- 306. Gloria, p. 188.
- 307. F. Giner de los Ríos, p. 103.
- 308. La razón de la sinrazón, p. 356.
- 309. Ibid., p. 401.
- 310. Ángel Guerra, III, p. 180.